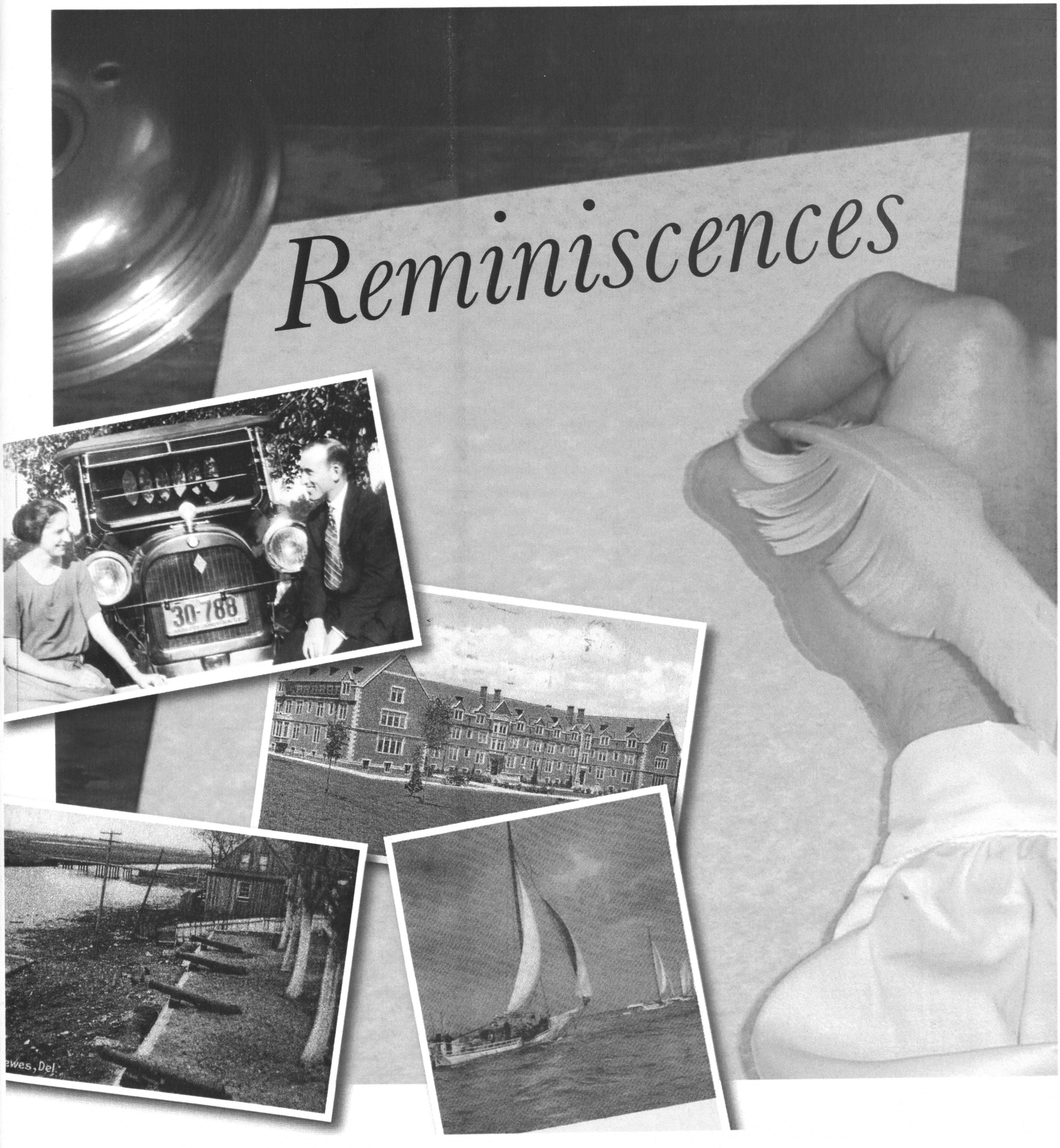
Shoreline

Vol. 15, No. 12 • December 2008
For the Members of the Edward H. Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture at Salisbury University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In a Word

By Matthew Heim

In this edition of the *Shoreline* we examine the history and culture of Delmarva through the eyes of those who lived it. Few things bring history more to life than eye witness personal reminiscences from contemporary individuals. Beginning with John Smith's account of his exploration of the Chesapeake Bay Region, through tales of runaway slaves seeking freedom, to more modern recollections of growing up on a changing Delmarvan Peninsula during World War II, this edition of the *Shoreline* pays tribute to those who recorded their thoughts about the Eastern Shore.

The December 2008 Shoreline also stands as a testament to the rich archival collection housed at the Nabb Research Center. Nearly all of the journals, letters, and other personal accounts discussed in this issue are found within the walls of the Nabb Center. The treasure trove of information and materials available offers fertile ground for any researcher looking to study the Delmarva Region.

The staff of the Nabb Center would like to thank the authors published in this edition of the *Shoreline* for all their hard work as well as all who helped produce this issue, especially the staff of Salisbury University's publications department. We certainly hope you enjoy the December 2008 Shoreline as we take a closer look at Delmarva History through the recollections of the residents who came before us.

Coming Soon!

The John Jacob Somerset County Maryland Postcards Online Interactive Exhibit.

Having received the John Jacob Postcard Collection in 2007, the Nabb Research Center felt an online exhibit would serve as an excellent venue to share it with the greater Delmarva Community. Student researchers working in conjunction with the Nabb Center staff have researched the locations portrayed in the postcards and created an interactive exhibit for patrons to view the beautiful collection in relation to the geographic location displayed on the card. The exhibit will be available on the Nabb Center's website in early January.

Submissions

The June 2009 issue of the *Shoreline* will focus on Delmarva's maritime heritage. Anyone interested in submitting an article should send his/her item to the newsletter editor as follows:

Nabb Research Center
Salisbury University
1101 Camden Ave.
Salisbury, MD 21801

Or send an e-mail to
rcdhac@salisbury.edu

We also welcome your comments and suggestions.

Hours & Closings

HOLIDAY CLOSINGS:
December 20, 2008-January 4, 2009
January 19, 2009 (Martin Luther King Jr. Day)

WINTER TERM HOURS:
January 5-25; Monday, 10 a.m.-8 p.m.
Tuesday-Friday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

SPRING SEMESTER HOURS:
January 26-May 20
Monday, 10 a.m.-9 p.m.
Tuesday-Wednesday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.
Thursday, 10 a.m.-8 p.m.
Friday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.
Saturday, 10 a.m.-2p.m.

Shoreline

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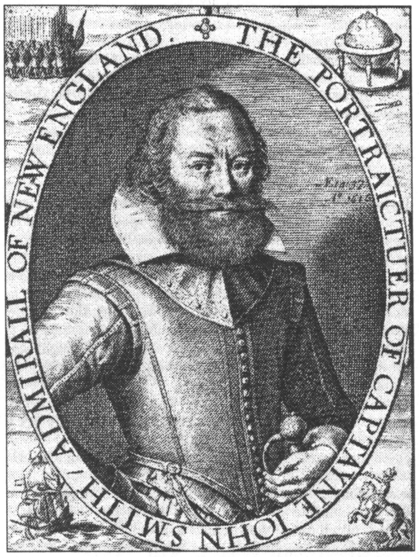
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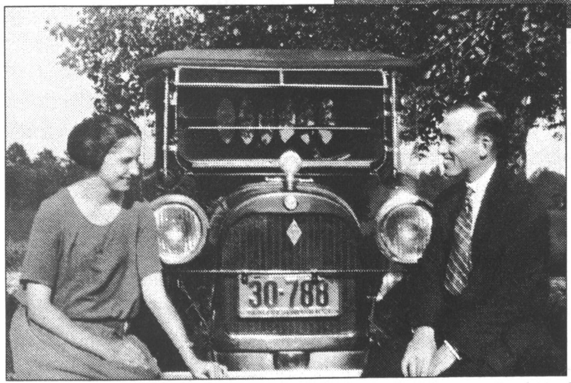

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A Teacher's Heart: Lula's Story

Volume 15 No. 12 December 2008

Director, Dr. G. Ray Thompson. *Research Assistant,* Aaron Horner, *Secretary,* Donna Messick. *Technical Services Librarian,* Iris Powell. *Reading Room Coordinator,* Matt Heim. *Receptionist,* Corinne Les Callette. *Archivist,* David Ranzan. *Archival Assistant,* Jared Kreiner. *Graduate Assistants,* Aaron Lumpkins and Sean Wenstrup.

This issue and back issues of the *Shoreline* may be purchased for $10 each by contacting us at 410-543-6312 or rcdhac@salisbury.edu.

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Nabb News

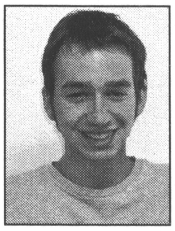
New Staff

The Nabb Center welcomes new staff members onboard. **David Ranzan** is the new University archivist for Salisbury University. David received his B.A. and M.A. in history from East Stoudsburg University in Pennsylvania. He also earned an M.A. in library science from Rutgers University where he worked on the Thomas Edison Papers for the last eight years. David is looking forward to helping the Nabb Center grow. In addition to David, the Nabb Center also is happy to retain the services of **Matt Heim**. Matt worked as a graduate assistant for the last two years at the Nabb Center and is working this year as the Reading Room Coordinator. Matt will fill this role for a year at which point he plans to pursue a degree in law.

New Faces

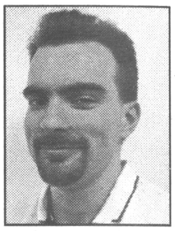
Our patrons may have noticed a few new faces running around the Nabb Center this fall. We were fortunate to add several new students to our roster. The Nabb Center's continuing effort to increase student involvement and provide greater opportunities for field experience swelled the ranks of its student workforce to eight students. These students worked on a number of projects this fall including processing several collections, migrating the Nabb Center's Archival Database, writing article for *Shoreline*, aiding in administrative tasks and much more. The Nabb Center extends a warm thanks to the help these students provided, many without pay, and we are looking forward to another great semester with them.

Ashley Ennals joined the Nabb Research Center staff in 2007 as part of a work-study program through Salisbury University. From Cambridge, MD, Ashley is currently a junior majoring in accounting. She performs clerical duties such as filing and data entry to keep the Research Center running smoothly. Her future plans include attaining her CPA credentials upon graduation and moving across the Bay to Annapolis.

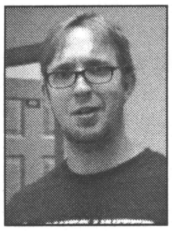


Matt Griffin came to the Nabb Research Center as a work-study student through Salisbury University. A native of Salisbury, Matt's interest in computer hardware and software has led him to pursue a degree in information systems. His computer knowledge is being put to good use as he works on updating the Nabb Research Center Database, as well as future online exhibits. After graduation, he hopes to find a job as a computer programmer with a local company.

Jared Kreiner is from Chesapeake, VA, and graduated from Christopher Newport University. He is pursuing an M.A. in history at Salisbury University. Jared is currently employed as the Nabb Center's archival assistant where he is working with the Nabb Center's large collection of business ledgers.

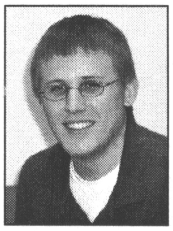


Sean Wenstrup is from Howard County, MD, and graduated from Wheeling Jesuit University. Sean is also pursuing an M.A. in history at Salisbury University and is working as a graduate assistant this year at the Nabb Center. Sean worked on the Joseph and Illia Feher Collection this fall along with fellow graduate assistant Aaron Lumpkins. Sean plans to continue his education after graduating.



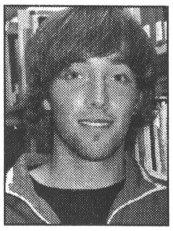
Aaron Lumpkins is a graduate assistant at the Nabb Research Center. Aaron comes to the Nabb Center from the Mount Calvert Manor region of Southern Maryland. He graduated from Virginia Tech in 2006 where he majored in Latin American history. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in history from Salisbury University with a concentration in Colonial Chesapeake studies.

Daniel Robert Taylor is a current student at Salisbury University working toward a B.A. in history with a minor in philosophy. His original hometown is Swan Hill, Australia, but he now resides in Ocean City, MD. During his time working at the Nabb, he has been assisting with the Lt. Col Lynn Perry Collection, preserving and documenting this magnificent collection of World War I battle maps, photos and documents. Taylor enjoys researching and writing about various historical periods, and plans to continue his studies at SU with the goal of achieving a master's degree.



Chris Kidd is a senior from Baltimore. He is a communications arts major at Salisbury University. Chris worked as a communications intern last summer at the Nabb Center. Chris contributed greatly to this edition of *Shoreline* and also assisted with several other publication projects for the Nabb Research Center. After college, Chris hopes to go to graduate school to get his master's in journalism. Chris would like to write for a magazine and eventually become an editor.

Jessica Howell is a senior history and English double major at Salisbury University. She is from Dorchester County and worked with the Nabb Research Center this fall as an English intern. Jessica wrote several articles for this and future *Shorelines* as well as assisted with the editing process.



Tobias Meier is a junior history major at Salisbury University. He grew up in Salisbury and is interested in pursuing a teaching career after graduation. Tobias worked on several projects this fall including transcribing a 19th century voter registration book and digitizing both a World War I diary and 19th century ledger book.

William Harper: Biographical Sketch

Miles-Stevenson Research Prize

by Andreea Vlaicu

Andreea Vlaicu

For the early settlers of Delmarva, the possibility of a promising life depended on a combination of factors ranging from family support, their preexistent material situation, the quality and amount of the land owned, the relationships established within the community, and their personal character. Many times, the only sources that mention the existence of these settlers are their wills, inventories, and the court and church records. In William Harper's case, the primary sources helped piece together the biography of a colonist who had the necessary resources to succeed.

As a representative of 17th century Colonial America, Harper's first evident achievement, at a time when Eastern Shore dwellers were facing unpropitious living conditions and diseases that shortened their life span, was his longevity. A deposition taken from him in Northampton, Virginia, in 1662, specifies his age at the time: 35. Born in 1627 and deceased in 1703 at 76 years of age, the blacksmith William Harper Sr., attesting the patriarchal authority that had already been established in his family by naming the male children of successive generations after their fathers, made sure to bequeath his lands, houses and movable belongings to four of his grandsons. Although the 675 acres of land that he owned at the time of death were passed on to his wife, Elizabeth, ultimately, after her decease or remarriage, the land was bequeathed to the grandsons John, William Jr., Francis and Edward Harper Jr. After revoking all other former wills, in his last testament, written in 1702, the blacksmith did not mention his only son, Edward, and two of his grandsons, Richard and Henry. It is evident that all three members excluded from the will were still alive in 1702 because they are named as successors in Elizabeth Harper's will in 1709. John Harper, the youngest in the family, seems to have been his grandfather's favorite because he was supposed to receive 500 acres of land called "Norfolk"; William Jr., Francis and Edward Jr. followed as favorites, having to divide 175 acres of land called "Middle Plantation," while the rest of the family was not even mentioned in the will.

A second remarkable finding, probably as unusual as the first, is the fact that William Harper Sr. decided to leave Northampton, Virginia, and move to Somerset County, Maryland, at an older age. He was 50 years old when he arrived in Maryland in 1677 and "proved his rights for 250 acres of land for transporting himself, Elizabeth, his wife, Edward, his son, Thomas Goodson, and Thomas Cole." A few days later, he was granted a warrant.

Research has not been able to determine whether William Harper Sr. was born in Virginia or he moved there from another location. The first time his name appeared in the Northampton, Virginia, Record Book, was in 1655 in a document stating that Harper owned a piece of land at Maggoty Bay, near Fisherman's Creek, without any specification regarding the size of the property. Three years later, a man named Mathew Wardell bequeathed his estate and personal belongings to William Harper Sr. and George Freshwater. Later, Harper bought 100 acres of land from Freshwater, probably the part of the land the latter inherited from Wardell, with no specification to be found in the existing documents where the land was situated. During his stay in Virginia, the blacksmith had been twice required to attend court because of debt issues, both times proving to be free of financial obligations: in the first case, as defendant, he provided the necessary paperwork to demonstrate his innocence; in the second, as plaintiff, it was established that Henry Mathews owed him 1,700 pounds of tobacco.

By the end of October 1675, the blacksmith had decided to leave Virginia and a notice was signed at the courthouse stating that the Harper family intended to move away from the colony. Overall, during his stay in Northampton County, William Harper Sr. seems to have stayed on the right side of the law, the small number of lawsuits and their outcome being proof of that, he fulfilled his civic duties by attending two trials as a juror, bequeathed a cow to Elizabeth Skinner, inherited land probably from a friend or acquaintance and properly informed the state of his leaving. In a few of the stated documents, including his last will, written a few months before his death, the blacksmith did not sign his name, but left a mark, the clear sign of an illiterate person.

At his arrival in Somerset County, Maryland, William Harper Sr. proved his rights to 250 acres of land based on the head right system, although research was inconclusive regarding any information related to that particular land or its location. Because the patents did not specify how he used his head rights, it is possible for the blacksmith to have sold his warrant. From the time of his arrival in Maryland in 1677 until his death in 1703, he owned four properties, totaling 975 acres of land, that had been received based on the patent system. These lands, Norfolk, consisting of 500 acres, surveyed in 1679; Harper's Discovery, totaling 200 acres, surveyed in 1681; Middle Plantation, consisting of 175 acres, surveyed in 1683, and Harper's Increase, consisting of 100 acres, surveyed in 1683, were all lying on the eastern side of Chesapeake Bay, north of Pocomoke River and west of Dividing Creek. In 1687 Elizabeth and William Harper sold two of their properties, Harper's Discovery and Harper's Increase, for a total of 9,000 pounds of tobacco, to William Denson who renamed the acquired land Denson's Delight and William Warwick, who named his acquisition Warwick's Choice. Based on the lands he owned and the items and livestock included in the inventory taken after his death, William Harper was a prosperous man, belonging to the middle class of the 17th century.

In his last testament, William Harper called himself a blacksmith and the old irons, pewter, bellow, fire tongs, hammers, spades and cutlass found on his property confirmed his statement, although based on the rest of the tools included in the inventory, he could have been easily called a farmer or a carpenter. The multitude and diversity of the tools he owned create a picture of him being versatile and self-reliant. He seems to have had all the necessary utensils required (a man servant, seven horses, a bull, a plow, harrow teeth, hoes, pitchfork and reaphooks), from an agricultural point of view, for small-scale production, enough to assure the family's needs and maybe to generate some income. The water mill and the stones were used to grind the grains produced on the property that were deposited in the tubs, barrels, casks, and buckets manufactured, probably, by William Harper Sr. The cooper's utensils suggest that the blacksmith was making his own wooden containers used for storing dry and liquid aliments. To be able to sustain a constant production, even if it was on a smaller scale, and an orchard of apples (the cider mill and cider casks indicate the presence of an orchard), the land's quality must have been adequate.

The blacksmith's house must have had at least three rooms to fit all the beds, chests, tables and chairs found on the inventory, suggesting that his son, Edward, his daughter-in-law, Lydia, and the six grandsons lived there. The roof was probably made out of shingles because some of the tools (froes, mauls, crosscut saw, hand saw, mallet) were specifically used back in those days for that particular reason. The kitchen was equipped with iron cooking utensils manufactured by the blacksmith. Although William and Elizabeth were illiterate, a Bible was found in the house, suggesting that they were religious people.

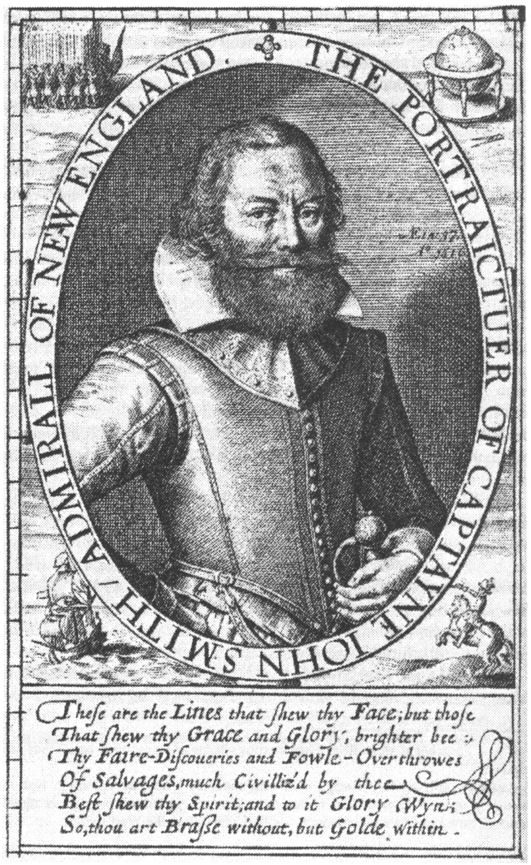
After settling in Maryland, William Harper appeared in the Judicial Records for minor cases regarding jury duty, a deposition, a debt case, and an acknowledgement of being indebted to Captain Henry Smith for 20,000 pounds of tobacco, a debt which he paid off the same year. The fact that he could borrow such a large amount of tobacco and pay it back are proof of a good status. Except for being an appraiser once for John Shipway's inventory, the blacksmith did not hold any public offices.

William Harper Sr. was an enterprising 17th century colonist who procured a respectable living for his family through ways that kept him away from undesired lawsuits. Although he fathered only one child, by the time he died, he had six grandsons. He left behind a considerably large family and enough property to facilitate the possibility of a decent life for them.

John Smith's Explorations of the Eastern Shore: A Lesson in Native Diplomacy

by Aaron Lumpkins

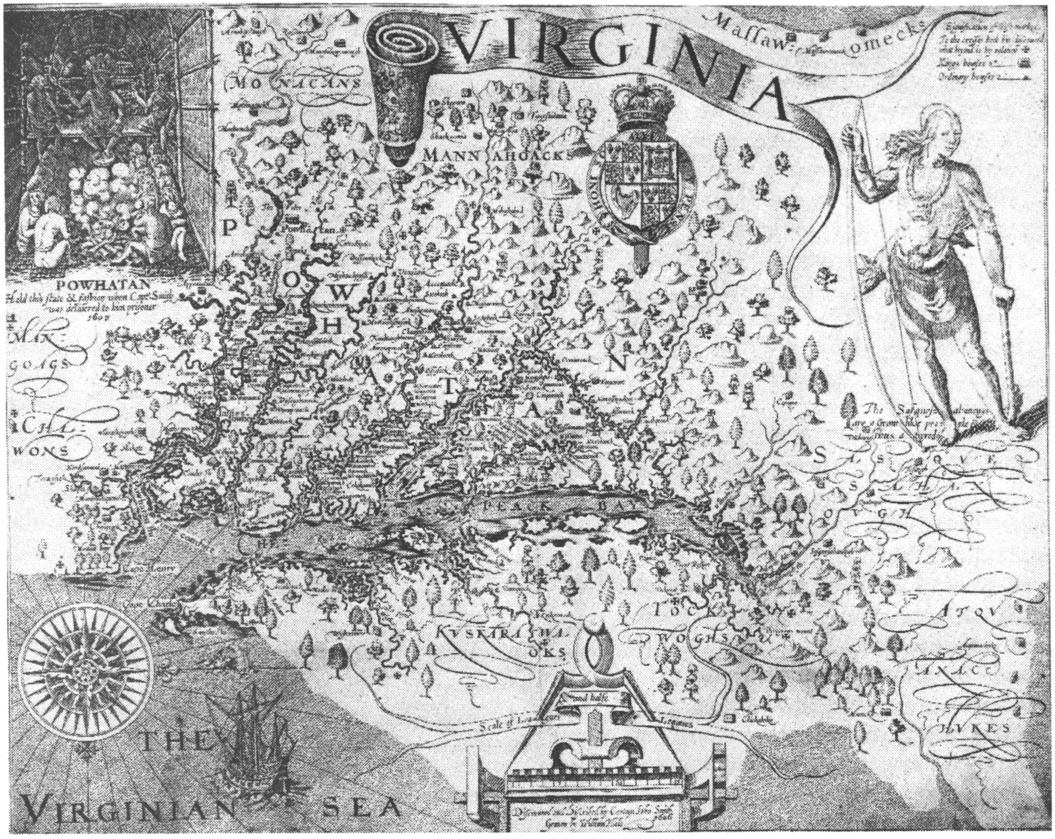
On the eve of Captain John Smith's first voyage up the Chesapeake, the success of the English settlement at Jamestown must have seemed less than assured. After two failed attempts to colonize Roanoke Island, North Carolina, the first winter at Jamestown had proved almost as disastrous. Out of the initial 104 settlers who disembarked on Jamestown Island on May 14, 1607, only 38 remained when Christopher Newport returned with fresh supplies and colonists in January 1608. Subsequent winters had a similar effect on the English population of early Virginia, and the winter of 1609-1610 brought on such suffering among the colonists that it was referred to as the "starving time." William Strachey's description of Jamestown fort upon his arrival in 1610 reveals the colony's plight. Hoping to find a thriving colony, Strachey, instead, was confronted by a scene for which he was entirely unprepared.


THE PORTRAICTUER OF CAPTAYNE IOHN SMITH ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND
These are the Lines that ſhew thy Face; but thoſe
That ſhew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Diſcoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Beſt ſhew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn;
So, thou art Braſse without, but Golde within.

> Viewing the fort, we found the palisades torn down, the ports open, the gate from off the hinges, and the empty houses (which the owners had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone's cast off from them to fetch other firewood

Surrounded by an increasingly hostile native population and confronted by an appalling mortality rate, the hope of establishing a successful colony in the Chesapeake must have seemed a distant memory.

Dealings between the Indians and English were never wholly one-sided; in fact both sides actively pursued their own agendas and sought to use the other in ways that proved most advantageous to themselves. It is principally for that reason that Powhatan did not use his numerical superiority to crush the settlement during its hour of inception. Out of those shaky formative years Captain John Smith emerged as one of the more competent leaders in Jamestown. His exploits to ensure the settlement's survival are well chronicled and tend to relegate his two voyages of exploration up the Chesapeake to little more than historical footnotes. These voyages, however, brought John Smith into contact with Indians who were either on the periphery of Powhatan's influence or well beyond. His account does little to portray the



John Smith's map of Virginia published in 1612.

Indians of the Chesapeake as docile bystanders, but it instead shows them to be active participants in the course of his voyage. These natives were invariably struggling with the same kind of concerns that shaped relations between Powhatan and the Jamestown settlers, namely whether to perceive the encroaching English as a threat or a useful ally.

On June 2, 1608, Smith and 14 others left Jamestown on their first voyage of exploration in the Chesapeake. In a small open barge, or shallop, the group crossed the bay and arrived at an island he promptly dubbed, Smith's Isles; their first contact with the native people of the Eastern Shore occurred shortly thereafter while sailing off the coast of Cape Charles. According to Captain Smith: "The first people we saw were two grim and stout Salvages upon Cape Charles, with long poles like Javelings, headed with bone." This pair of Indians belonged to the Accomack tribe and led Smith, with the rest of his party, to "the habitation of their Werowance," which the English understood to mean king. He described the Accomack chief as "the comliest, proper, civill Salvage we incountred," and "His country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small creekes, good Harbours for small Barks, but not for Ships." While at Cape Charles, Smith seized on the opportunity to ascertain a description of the bay, isles and inlets.

The need for fresh water forced the expedition to follow the western shore of the peninsula. Smith's encounter with the native people of the Wighcocomoco River reveals the conflicting notions that Indians held about these foreign interlopers.

> The people at first with great fury seemed to assault us, yet at last with songs and daunces, and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes [cask], and that such puddle that never till then, we ever knew the want of good water.

From this passage we can deduce that the natives' fury only subsided once they came to the understanding the tiny expedition posed no threat. The mention of "puddle" and "want of good water" suggests that John Smith and his men were forced to collect water from muddy puddles on the ground, an image which is not consistent with the welcome the Indians supposedly gave him. It is important to note that the drinking of parasitic water was a major problem in the early Colonial period and contributed to the high mortality rates in the initial years of Jamestown. Whether the Wighcocomoco people had an insufficient supply of fresh water or just preferred not to share it with the English is hard to glean from Smith's account. However, it is at least plausible that they felt less than compelled to share with the English in the hopes that it would induce them to leave.

Regardless of their motives, John Smith pushed on in search for more palatable water; however, they could find no means for easing their plight.

> We digged and searched in many places but before two daies were expired, we would have refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco.

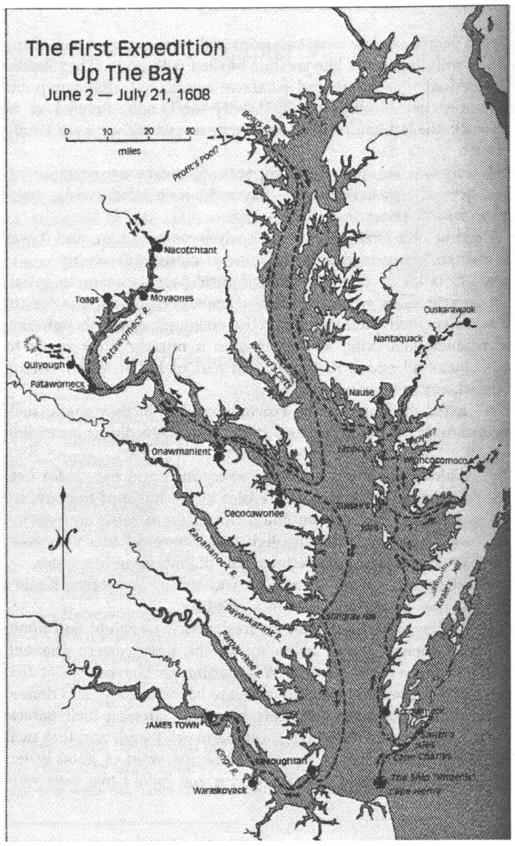
Smith and his crew sailed from the tip of the peninsula to the mouth of the Pocomoke River before they decided to cross back over the bay to the western shore. During the attempted crossing the voyagers were overtaken by a horrific storm near Bloodsworth Island.

> the winde and waters so much increased with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our mast and sayle blew overbord and such mighty waves overracked us in that small barge that with great labour we kept her from sinking by freeing out the water. Two days we were inforced to inhabite these uninhabited Isles, which for the extremities of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill weather we called Limbo.

Captain Smith and his crew made a new sail from their shirts and then, out of necessity, decided to head back to the Eastern Shore. A lasting testament to the ferocity of this storm is found in the John Smith map in the depiction of a sea monster in the middle of Chesapeake Bay.

Their experience in the storm was a harrowing one, but once back on the Eastern Shore they sailed up a river that Smith refers to as the Cuskarawaok (today the Nanticoke River), where they received a hostile reception from the natives.

> the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place, and divers got into the tops of trees, they were not sparing of their arrowes nor the greatest passion



Map tracing John Smith's first voyage up the Chesapeake Bay from Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony.

> they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without there reatch making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came unarmed, with every one a basket, dancing in a ring, to draw us on shore: but seeing there was nothing in them but villainy, we discharged a volley of muskets charged with pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes

During the early contact period the practice of luring Europeans ashore and into an ambush with gestures of hospitality was not unique. Had John Smith and his men taken the bait they surely would have been slaughtered. A display of their arms proved sufficient for dispersing their would-be attackers, and Captain Smith was determined to go ashore.

> Towards the evening we wayed, and approaching the shoare, discharging five or six shot among the reedes, we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the river, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire, there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then went into the bay.

The next morning, while still anchored at the mouth of the Nanticoke River, four Indians canoed over to the English barge. Smith presumed that they had been in the bay fishing and were unaware of the confrontation that took place earlier. According to Smith's account, these Indians returned to their people where "after a little conference" the inhabitants decided to come out and welcome the explorers.

> two or three thousand men women and children came clustring about us, every one presenting us with something, which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch us water, stay with us for hostage, conduct our men any whither, and give us the best content.

Smith refers to theses people as the Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseek and Nantaquak; claiming that they were the "best Marchants of all other Salvages." It is reasonable to assume that a combination of arms and market diplomacy induced the warm reception that Smith and his party received after the previous day's skirmish. While among this group of natives Smith heard of a great nation called the Massawomecks, who were widely feared among the Chesapeake tribes for their lightening raids down the bay.

After leaving the Eastern Shore the expedition crossed the Chesapeake and made camp at Richard's Cliffs (Calvert Cliffs today) before heading north up the western shore. Upon their return down the bay, Smith's crew protested their captain's reluctance to return immediately to Jamestown. By his own account, Smith cited the exploits of Ralph Lane's attempt to colonize Roanoke Island in the hopes of motivating his men. While governor of Roanoke Island, Lane and his men earned a reputation for their use of violence toward the natives; such tactics most likely hastened the disappearance of the later settlers. John Smith was obviously acquainted with Lane's methods and under certain circumstances would not hesitate to use heavy-handed tactics himself. After his speech to his men, Smith informed his crew that he did not intend on returning to Jamestown before finding the Massawomecks, and the head of the "Patowomek" River. The expedition continued on into the Potomac River, where they found Indians engaged in mining, but found neither silver nor gold. By July 21, 1608, Smith and his crew arrived back in Jamestown, not having lost a single member.

Smith only remained in Jamestown for three days before setting out again to complete his exploration of the Chesapeake. Out of the 15 crew members who accompanied Smith on his first voyage, eight would continue on during his second. On July 24, 1608, Captain John Smith set sail again in a small barge with a crew totaling 12. The party first disembarked at Kecoughtan (Hampton Roads), where they previously stopped on their first voyage.

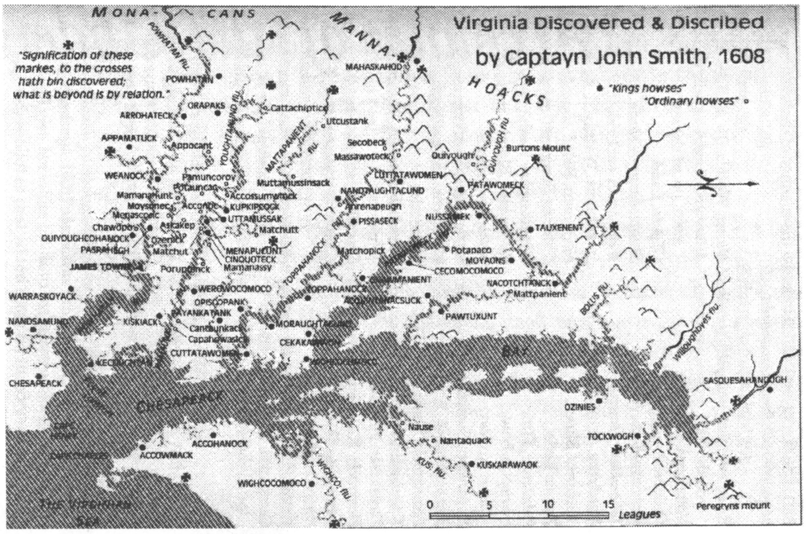
> The wind being contrary caused our stay two or three dayes at Kecoughtan. The King feasted us with much mirth, his people were pirsuaded we went purposely to be revenged of the Massawomekes. In the evening we fired a few rockets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages they supposed nothing unpossible we attempted and desired to assist us.

A number of the Algonquian tribes along the Chesapeake, according to Smith's account, sought to persuade the English to attack the Massawomeck Indians. The Massawomecks were an Iroquois tribe that was indigenous to the Great Lakes region and were famed for raiding the Indians along the Chesapeake and its tributaries. After leaving Kecoughtan, Smith and his crew crossed the bay where they finally encountered the famed Massawomecks.

> We seeing them prepare to assault us, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to encounter them, yet were we but five with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left Kecoughtan, the rest (being of the last supply), were sicke almost to death untill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them under our Tarpawling, we put their hats upon stickes by the Barge's side, and betwixt two hats a man

> with two paeces, to make us seem many, and so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed

Whether or not the Massawomecks were fooled by the contrived illusion is a matter of conjecture. What is certain is that tensions cooled and Smith and his party allowed them to board their vessel. During their parley with them, the English were presented with venison, bear skins, fish, bows, arrows and clubs. It is apparent from Smith's account that both sides of a native conflict were trying to form an alliance with the English.


Virginia Discovered & Discribed by Captayn John Smith, 1608
"Signification of these markes, to the crosses hath bin discovered; what is beyond is by relation."
"Kings howses"
"Ordinary howses"
MONACANS
MANNAHOACKS
CHESAPEACK
BAY
JAMES TOWNE
Leagues

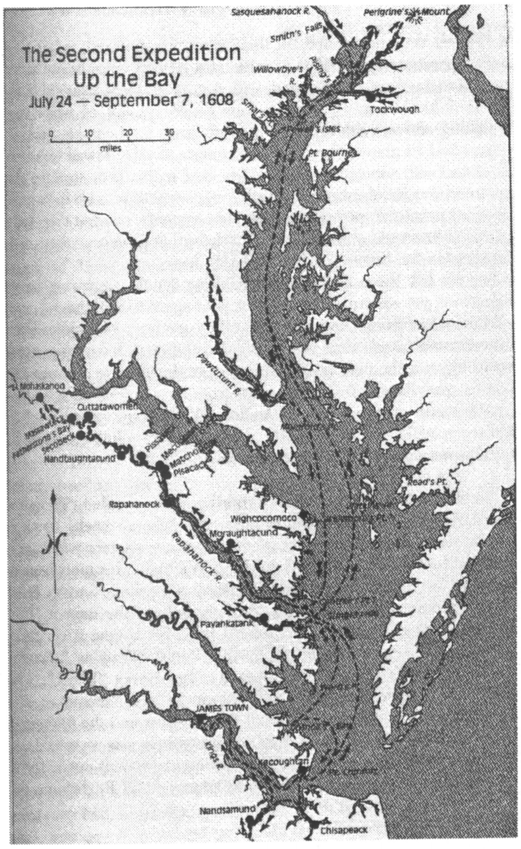
Map of John Smith's discoveries from his exploratory journey up the Chesapeake Bay from Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony.

The expedition then headed for the head waters of the Chesapeake and entered the Tockwogh River, today the Sassafras River that divides Kent and Cecil County. The natives they found there were living in a fortified town, complete with palisades and scaffolding. Such, fortifications suggest Smith's expedition crossed into an area of sustained native warfare. Upon, seeing that the English possessed Massawomeck weapons, and presuming that they had acquired them through force, the people of Tockwogh were quick to court English favor. From this interaction it is clear that native weapons from a tribe as feared as the Massawomecks had greater diplomatic currency than English guns. They presented the small expedition with many gifts in the hope that Smith and his party would remain and help defend them against the Massawomeck Indians. It was the only mention in all of Smith's account where a tribe asked him and his men to stay, suggesting that the diplomatic ploy was successful.

While among the Tockwogh, Smith made note of a few articles found among those natives that caught his eye.

> Many hatchets, knives, pieces of iron and brass we saw amongst them, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanocks, a mighty people and mortal enemies with the Massawomecks.

From this passage it is obvious that these natives had acquired goods from Indians who had previously traded with Europeans, prior to the establishment of Jamestown. John Smith asserts that the Susquehanna and Tockwogh Indians claimed to have acquired their hatchets from the French.


The Second Expedition Up the Bay
July 24 — September 7, 1608
miles
Sasquesahanock R.
Peregrine's Mount
Smith's Falls
Willowbye's
Tockwogh
Pt. Bourne
Patuxent R.
Mahaskahod
Cuttatawomen
Nandtaughtacund
Rapahanock
Rapahanock R.
Wighcocomoco
Moraughtacund
Read's Pt.
Payankatank
JAMES TOWN
Kecoughtan
Nandsamund
Chisapeack

Map of John Smith's second voyage up the Chesapeake Bay from Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony.

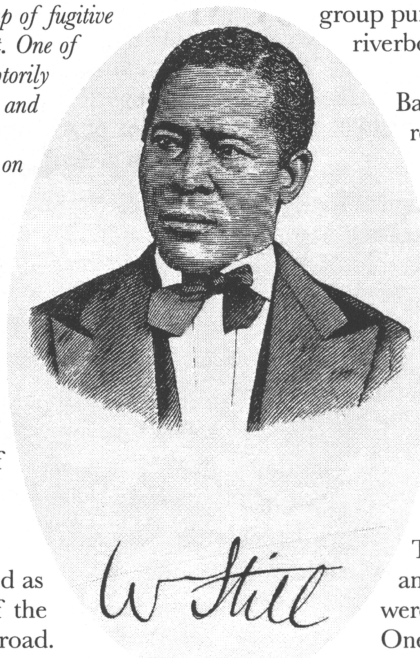
While I sifted through Captain John Smith's account of his voyages in the Chesapeake, a number of patterns began to emerge. At the onset of any dialogue between his crew and the aboriginals, the English insisted that the Indians hand over their weapons and a few hostages. In the event that the natives refused to do so, Smith rightfully interpreted their refusal as a hostile gesture. The demanding of native weapons did more than simply disarm the aboriginals. The possession of native weapons could have real diplomatic currency when dealing with other tribes along the bay. Smith and his small crew were able to display these weapons as spoils of conquest to other tribes, thus fostering an illusionary sense of English military power.

John Smith and the rest of his crew spent the remainder of their second voyage exploring the Patuxent and Rappahannock rivers, finally making their way back to Jamestown on September 7, 1608. Yet, during all their interactions with the native people of the Eastern Shore none was probably more telling than their last. While the English, French and Spanish all competed to carve out spheres of influence in North America and secure alliances with native tribes, the Native Americans of the Chesapeake were engaging in the same practice, hoping to use European allies against tribal enemies. It was under those circumstances that native weapons in the hands of John Smith and his crew had the greatest diplomatic currency.

Accounts of the Underground Railroad

by Chris Kidd

Near Kate's Hammock, on the Delaware shore, [a group of fugitive slaves] were attacked by five white men in a small boat. One of them seized the chain of the fugitives' boat, and peremptorily claimed it. "This is not your boat, we bought this boat and paid for it," spake one of the brave fugitives, "I am an officer, and must have it," said the white man, holding on to the chain. Being armed, the white men threatened to shoot. Manfully did the black men stand up for their rights, and declare that they did not mean to give up their boat alive.

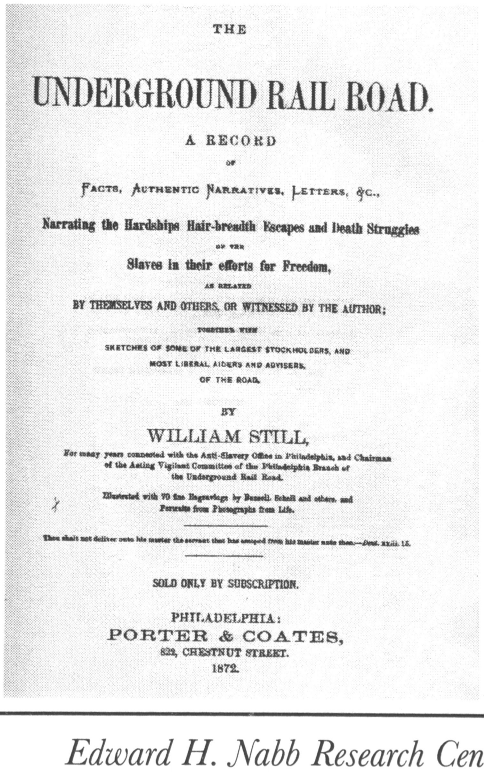


W Still

The Underground Railroad was a passage to safety and a better life, away from an onerous one. Of the books written on the subject, *The Underground Railroad* by William Still stands out as a unique piece of work due to its focus on the escaping fugitive slaves, rather than the abolitionists.

Still was connected with the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia for many years and acted as chairman of the Acting Vigilant Committee of the Philadelphia Branch of the Underground Railroad. He wrote *The Underground Railroad* after the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society requested him to compile and publish his personal reminiscences and experiences relating to the "Underground Rail Road."

Through his work with the Underground Railroad, Still was able to hear many tales of hardship and bravery demonstrated by the fugitive slaves. Though it was typical for these stories to be told, it was uncommon for them to be written down as it could make the future more difficult for the recently freed slaves. One day, however, Still discovered that the fugitive slave whom he was helping was in fact his brother Peter Still. After realizing that his mother, who had been heart broken over the unknown fate of her son, would be ecstatic to learn of Peter's whereabouts, Still decided that he would record all of the stories of fugitive slaves in an effort to help any other families torn apart by slavery.



THE

UNDERGROUND RAIL ROAD.

A RECORD

OF

FACTS, AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES, LETTERS, &C.,

Narrating the Hardships Hair-breadth Escapes and Death Struggles

OF THE

Slaves in their efforts for Freedom,

AS RELATED

BY THEMSELVES AND OTHERS, OR WITNESSED BY THE AUTHOR;

TOGETHER WITH

SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE LARGEST STOCKHOLDERS, AND

MOST LIBERAL AIDERS AND ADVISERS,

OF THE ROAD.

BY

WILLIAM STILL,

For many years connected with the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia, and Chairman
of the Acting Vigilant Committee of the Philadelphia Branch of
the Underground Rail Road.

Illustrated with 70 fine Engravings by Bensell, Schell and others, and
Portraits from Photographs from Life.

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that has escaped from his master unto thee.—*Deut.* xxiii. 15.

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PHILADELPHIA:
PORTER & COATES,
822, CHESTNUT STREET.
1872.

The Underground Railroad is a fascinating collection of harrowing escapes for freedom made by fugitive slaves. One such story, titled "Crossing the Bay in a Batteau," featured a group of six slaves, four men and two women, from Kunkletown in Worcester County. An excerpt of this story was used for the introductory paragraph of this article. In total, the group had 30 dollars to get them to freedom. After deciding that the safest means of travel would be by water, the group purchased a bateau (a light, flat bottomed riverboat) for six dollars.

They planned to travel across the Delaware Bay to reach the Jersey shore, but before they reached their destination, they were attacked by five white men. After the white men attacked, the fugitive slaves returned blows, causing their attackers to retreat to a safe distance before shooting at the slaves. As a result, one man was hit twice in the forehead, another was hit in the temple and two were hit multiple times in the arms. Fortunately for the fugitives, the shot was weak and the distance was far, causing the shots to do little damage. The conflict lasted for several minutes, but the victorious bondmen were only made all the more courageous by seeing the foe retreat. They rowed with a greater will than ever, and landed on a small island. Where they were, or what to do, they could not tell. One whole night they passed in gloom on this sad spot. Their hearts were greatly cast down; the next morning they set out on foot to see what they could see.

By the next day, the women had become quite ill and the men had reached complete exhaustion. Fortunately for the party of fugitives, they found the captain of an oyster ship after walking for about a mile.

They perceived that he spoke in a friendly way, and they at once asked directions with regard to Philadelphia. He gave them the desired information, and even offered to bring them to the city if they would pay him for his services. They had about twenty-five dollars in all. This they willingly gave him, and he brought them according to agreement. When they found the captain they were not far from Cape May light-house.

The captain took them to Philadelphia where they were eventually forwarded on to Canada. Later, Still received a letter from a fellow Underground Railroad agent on June 6, 1860, stating that the party had made it to Elmira, New York.

Another story, titled "Months in a Cave – Shot by Slave Hunters," follows the frightening journey of two slaves who were shot, jailed, and pursued throughout Virginia.

> Isaac [Williams] was a stout-made young man, about twenty-six years of age, possessing a good degree of physical and mental ability. Indeed his intelligence forbade his submission to the requirements of Slavery, rendered him unhappy and led him to seek his freedom. He owed services to D. Fitchhugh…[who] moved quickly and sold Isaac to Dr. James, a negro trader.

While in the hands of the slave trader, Williams spoke with a man named Henry Banks, who was in a similar situation. Both men knew that they had to make a run for it as soon as possible or they would end up departing for the Deep South.

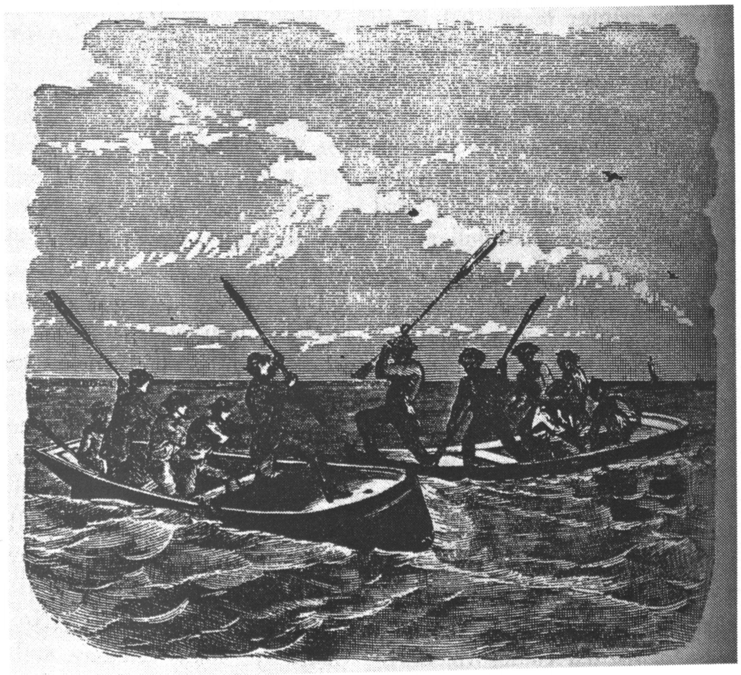
> That night Henry Banks and Isaac Williams started for the woods together, preferring to live among reptiles and wild animals, rather than be any longer at the disposal of Dr. James. For two weeks they successfully escaped their pursuers. The woods, however, were being hunted in every direction, and one day the pursuers came upon them, shot them both, and carried them to King George's Co. jail.

While in jail, the prisoners examined their surroundings and discovered that the old building in which they had been placed was full of weak spots. Due to their injuries from having been shot, the two men decided to spend a month imprisoned, trying to recover. Once they felt healthy enough to make another escape, Williams and Banks broke out of the jail and ran into the woods once more. With the knowledge of their previous failure, they decided not to continue to flee. Rather, they dug a cave and painstakingly covered it up so that it would not be found.

> In this den they stayed three months. Now and then they would manage to secure a pig. A friend also would occasionally serve them with a meal. Their sufferings at best were fearful; but great as they were, the thought of returning to Slavery never occurred to them, and the longer they stayed in the woods, the greater was their determination to be free. In the belief that their owner had about given them up they resolved to the North Star for a pilot, and try in this way to reach free land.

Before making their final expedition, Williams and Banks met with a friend of theirs named Kit Nickless. After discussing their plan of action, Nickless decided that he wanted to join the others in their journey. They figured out their best course of action and successfully traveled North, achieving their goals of living a free life. In escaping to the North, each man left behind friends and family, including wives and children, to parents and siblings.

Stories such as these give better understanding to the events that took place throughout the Underground Railroad, but even so, the Underground Railroad is a topic that generally brings up a wide array of thoughts to different people. Some think about the hardships faced by slaves, some think of spirituals or tools, such as the North Star used for directional guidance. Others think of being on the run, risking everything for a chance at freedom. Though many different thoughts are conjured at the mention of the Underground Railroad, it is difficult not to think of one person in particular. An icon from an era of persecution and pain who selflessly gave her all to help those she could to reach their ultimate goal of a free life. That icon is Harriet Tubman.



Tubman, sometimes known as "Moses" as she guided fugitive slaves to a better life much in the same way that Moses led the Jews, was born in Dorchester County, Maryland. Mention of her adventures can be found throughout *The Underground Railroad* such as the story "Harriet Tubman's Last Trip to Maryland."

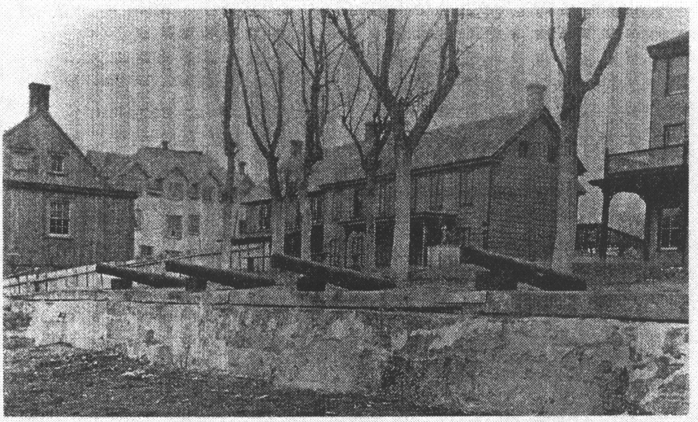
In a letter to William Still from Thomas Garrett:

> I write to let thee know that Harriet Tubman is again in these parts. She arrived last evening from one of her trips of mercy to God's poor, bringing two men with her as far as New Castle. I agreed to pay a man last evening, to pilot them on their way to Chester county; the wife of one of the men, with two or three children, was left some thirty miles below, and I gave Harriet ten dollars, to hire a man with carriage, to take them to Chester county. She said a man had offered for that sum, to bring them on. I shall be very uneasy about them, till I hear they are safe.

Throughout Still's *The Underground Railroad*, Harriet Tubman can be found scattered across the stories as a guide, an icon and even a legend. The book features many stories that took place in the Delmarva area, such as Cambridge and Worcester County. It is a fascinating book with tales of adventure, danger and a deep-rooted appreciation of freedom.

Bombardment of Lewestown, Delaware

by Sean Wenstrup



Photograph from the late 1800s of cannon used in defense of Lewes during the Revolution and War of 1812.

In the pantheon of American wars, there are several overshadowed by other conflicts. Perhaps one of the most overlooked is the War of 1812. Taking place so soon after the Revolution and against the same enemy, the war seems to be remembered only for the "Star Spangled Banner" and the attack on Baltimore by most Americans. However this war was fought across the Atlantic coastline, including in Delaware. In the spring of 1813, the town of Lewes, or Lewestown* as it was then known, was bombarded by a British Naval Squadron. This squadron demanded provisions from the town under the threat of destruction. Lewes valiantly and patriotically refused the British and defended itself when the attack began on the sixth and continued into the morning of the seventh of April 1813. The following account was obtained from *Delaware Archives Military Records Vol. IV* which can be found at the Edward H. Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture.

> On the 6th. inst. according to the prospect held out in the last Register, the British commenced a furious cannonade on Lewestown, which lasted for 22 hours. It has been estimated that they fired 800 shot, 18 and 32 pounders, at the place, besides shells, carcases, and the famous Congreve rockets. Many houses were damaged, but no loss of men on our side is reported. The shells fell short and the rockets passed over the town. The fire was returned with good interest, and it is thought with great effect, from an 18 pounder and two smaller pieces, excellently served. At the beginning of the action, our stock of shot was short; but the enemy furnished a plentiful supply, which fitted the calibre of our cannon exactly—they were diligently collected and promptly returned." — *Niles Register*, 17 April 1813

The events leading up to the decision by the British commander to assault the town was part of a larger war between the infant American Republic and the British Empire. The conflict known as the War of 1812 began with the harassment of American merchant vessels by warships of the Imperial British Navy. At this time, Britain was involved in a desperate war with her long-time rival France, who through the events of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon was waging continuous wars with her neighbors. These wars were expensive, total and expanded from traditional military engagements to the general populations of the combatants. This included the merchant vessels of the participating nations and those of neutral nations. At the time Britain was blockading continental Europe in order to prevent Napoleon from receiving supplies. The British Navy required huge numbers of men and material to enable this blockade. As such, they instituted a plan of impressments of foreign sailors and confiscation of goods labeled as contraband. Across the Atlantic, the United States was physically separated from the events in Europe and thus naturally believed they could trade with whomever they pleased. However, several incidents strained relations, such as when the British stationed warships within American waters to search for contraband and British subjects. Often this would lead to the impressment of American seamen and seizure of cargo—unrelated to the war. Ultimately these events and the intransigence of Britain led the United States to declare war on the British Empire on June 18, 1812.

The British Navy immediately began a blockade of the American coastline. The Delaware Bay was part of the overall plan to close all American ports. Lewes was a key position at the entrance of the Bay near Cape Henlopen. It also had the distinction of being one of the few towns along the Delaware south of Wilmington. Early in the spring of 1813 the commander of the garrison, Colonel S.B. Davis Esq., was contacted by the commander of the British Naval Squadron. He demanded that the town re-provision and supply his ships or face an attack:

His Britannic Majesty's ship
Poictiers in the Mouth of
The Delaware 16th March 1813.

Sir:
As soon as you receive this, I must request you will send twenty live Bullocks with a proportionate quantity of vegetables and hay, to the Poictiers for the use of His Britannic Majesty's Squadron now at this anchorage, which shall be immediately paid for at the Philadelphia prices—If you refuse to comply with this request I shall be under the necessity of destroying your town—

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your very obedient servt.
J.P. Beresford, Commodore
& Commanding the British
Squadron in the mouth of the
Delaware

The demand was forwarded to Delaware's Governor, Joseph Haslet. Haslet rejected the demand and replied on March 26 "... that a compliance would be an immediate violation of the laws of my country, and an eternal stigma on the nation of which I am a citizen: a compliance, therefore cannot be acceded to." The next day the *Niles Register* reported on the events in the Delaware Bay, where Lewes "... indignantly rejected the proffered treason of commodore Berresford, and prepared by every means in their power to repel his designs." The resulting uproar brought many of the local militia out to defend the town and oppose any potential landing of troops to seize the wanted provisions. Many of the soldiers who mustered in defense of Lewes were veterans of the Revolution who added their strength to the already swelling force. Upon receiving the reply of the Governor of Delaware, Commodore Beresford posted a note in the Philadelphia papers conveying his apologies for requesting the people of Lewes act in a treasonable manner.

Still the militia buildup at Lewes continued, and by April 1, the military stores within the magazines of the commissary department listed 1092 musket cartridges and balls, 434 pounds of lead, 39 cannon cartridges, 462 cannon balls of varying weights, 56 special cannon shot, 19 kegs of powder and 2,270 flints. Had the British landed, the local militia could have fought a minor skirmish. Given the amount of musket cartridges and balls available, a force of about 500 militia could have fired about two rounds before either retreating or switching to hand to hand combat. Four days later, David Paynter sent a letter to Governor Haslet. This was an updated inventory of the supplies and provisions at Lewes. The report listed 1,200 pounds of lead, 515 cannon balls, 30 powder kegs and 3,500 flints. Clearly the State of Delaware was taking the defense seriously given that the supplies of lead, cannonballs, powder kegs and flints all increased over a four-day span.

Two days later on April 6, Governor Haslet addressed the Delaware State Legislature by relating the events of the previous weeks and updating the members on current events. However, the governor reached the limits of his authority and sought the authority to raise more volunteer militia companies. Delaware was vulnerable to naval raids and needed more organized units to defend against potential incursions. Additionally, the forces stationed at Lewes were inadequate for the proper defense of the town.

The governor was right to be concerned about the defenses of Lewes; the total military strength was only 306 men from seven different companies. Two of those seven companies were artillery totaling 39 men from Captain Thomas Rodney's Company and 77 men from Captain Samuel Davis Company. Two of the remaining companies were Delaware regulars consisting of the First and Second Troop of Horse with 16 and 23 men, respectively. The other three units were Captain John Kollock's Volunteers Troop of Horse totaling 63 men and Captains Aron Swiggit and Stephen Reddon's Militia Horse Companies of 45 and 43 men. Those companies had 198 muskets, bayonets and cartridge boxes in their possession as well as the cavalry who had 23 pairs of pistols and 22 swords. By this time it was apparent those militia who arrived to the town's defense did not stay long. Just over 300 were left to defend a town under siege from the British Fleet.

On April 17, Governor Haslet again addressed the legislature regarding Lewes. He received a letter from Colonel S.B. Davis, Esq. commanding the forces encamped at Lewes; the British Squadron had commenced its bombardment of the town. The letter dated April 6 referred to three vessels approaching the town and bombarding it. *The Ship of the Line Belvidere*, the 74-gun *Frigate Poictiers* and an unnamed schooner, which made up the squadron, shot into the town. The defenders collected 32 pounders fired by the British to supplement their short supply. Additionally, after a brief cessation of hostilities, Commodore Beresford added water to his list of demands upon Lewes. The defenders issued the following reply:

> Sir, In reply to the renewal of your Demand with the addition of a supply of water—I have to inform that neither can be acquired in—This [missing] you must be sensible of, therefore I must insist the attack on the inhabitants of this town, is both wanton and cruel.

Colonel Davis sent a letter to Governor Haslet outlining this exchange when he received a second message from the British around five o'clock. Colonel Davis was told that no dishonor would be brought to the town of Lewes given the superior force of Commodore Beresford's squadron, and the continued refusal to supply the squadron had brought the current situation down upon the inhabitants of the town. The letter ends, with a plea for the women and children be escorted out of harm's way. The Americans verbally replied "... that Coll. Davis is a gallant man and has already taken care of the ladies, ..." The British immediately recommenced their bombardment upon receipt of this response. The battery of the defenders continued to fire until 10 o'clock when Colonel Davis sent a second letter to Governor Haslet requesting both powder and shot. Damage to the town was minor as the majority of the barrage did not reach the town itself. Governor Haslet closed his statement to the Delaware legislature by mentioning his orders to Brigadier General John Stockton to procure "twelve kegs of powder at eighteen dollars per keg" and that he had borrowed flints, lead, cannon balls and grape shot from the federal government.

The bombardment continued until April 7 when Commodore Beresford determined that insufficient damage was done to the town and Lewes' continued defiance was unlikely to produce the desired provisions. Following the cessation of hostilities, the Delaware State Legislature met to evaluate the defense of Lewes and formed a committee for that purpose. That investigation led to several resolutions of the state legislature to be sent to the president of the United States. Those resolutions requested supplies from the federal government, increased authority of the governor over Delaware units in federal service, and naval protection of the state coastline. It is unlikely these demands were ever met.

Although the British Squadron continued to blockade the Delaware Bay after the bombardment of Lewes, it never attacked the town again. The State of Delaware continued its preparations in order to defend the town as best it could. The forces on the lower Delaware Bay essentially reached a stalemate that would last for the remainder of the war.

Author's Note: * Within these records, Lewes was spelled Lewes, Lewis, Lewestown and Lewistown with spaces appearing at some points; for the purpose of this article we will be using Lewes unless a direct quotation is being used.

Fort of 1812, Lewes, Del.

Early scene of Memorial Park where cannon guard South Street (Savannah Road) bridge.

The Story of Clara Gunby:

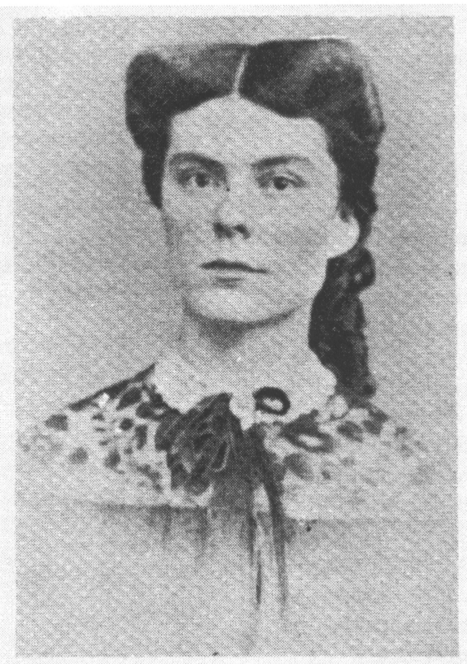
'A Fiery Eastern Shore Aristocrat' On Maryland's Eastern Shore

by Jessica Howell

With some it has been a disputed question, which affords the most happiness the anticipation. the realization or the recollection of pleasure. I shall not attempt to decide this, but to pay a tribute to that power which recalls the past. Sweet memories! it is by thy power that we are enabled to retain in mind the impressions of certain facts and events. It is memory that lifts the curtain between the present and the past and reveals to view pleasant scenes of long lost hours.

— Clara Gunby, an excerpt from the journal of Clara Gunby, 1853-1865. In Her Own Words: A Southern Partisan on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

During the Civil War, Maryland was divided between Union and Confederate supporters. Clara Gunby was among the Southern partisans living on Maryland's Eastern Shore and was famous for her especially strong anti-Union sentiments. She spent considerable time preparing and smuggling supplies to confederate troops and became infamous when she was arrested for refusing to walk under a Union flag. For this offense she was arrested and sent to Baltimore where she was tried for treason and deported south to Richmond. While imprisoned in Virginia, at Fortress Monroe, she met a Confederate spy and agreed to carry an important message to Jefferson Davis. She gave to the president a number of items of information that proved valuable to Confederate generals in the field. President Davis, in turn, rewarded her by appointing her to a clerkship with the Confederacy in Richmond. Clara remained with the Confederacy and witnessed the fall of Richmond. Shortly after the war's end, she returned to her hometown of Salisbury. She then married William Huffington, gave birth to two children and quietly lived out the rest of her life until her death in 1890. Clara left behind her journal which she began writing in 1853 and continued writing throughout the Civil War. From her journal and intimate letters from members of her family, a detailed look into the life of a woman of "natural goodness" and immense "strength of charactor" emerges.



CLARA GUNBY

Clara Louise Gunby was born in Forktown, Maryland, (now Fruitland) on September 9, 1839, to John and Charlotte Gunby. Although the Gunbys were a well-to-do farming family, Clara wrote in her journal at the age of 15, "It had never entered my mind before if we were wealthy or not." Throughout her childhood, Clara was "doted" on and given anything that she desired. In an entry dated December 24, 1853, Clara wrote: "I have a nice winter outfit, beautifal crimson and black plaid dress. handsome stone coloured morena & blue cashmier. Have a beautifal new cloak and everything else. Mother and Father are so kind they give me everything I want." Later in life Clara looked back on her childhood as being "spoiled, humoured & caressed" until her "youthful imagination" believed the world to be "my own." As a young girl, Clara was sent to a near-by boarding school in Salisbury, the same one her mother had attended. On October 20, 1853, 20 days after beginning school, Clara began to write her diary at age 14. Mrs. Hooper, with whom she boarded, told Clara that it would "improve me in composition ..." Clara, however, was not very confident regarding her composition skills, writing in her diary:

> *If I felt I was compelled to write in this book to improve in that branch of study, I verily believe I'd cram it in the stove, and let smoked buckwheat cakes tell that Journal was no more, but Miss Esther would fuss over the smoked breakfast till the poor cakes would have to tell in justice to their cook that Miss Clara filled the stove full of paper & made it smok, so sooner than be exposed to the cross old maid, I'l go on.*

Fearing that she would be exposed by those "poor cakes," Clara decided to escape the lectures of the "cross old maid" and keep her diary away from the flames. Fortunately, Clara decided not to burn her diary. Regardless of how terrible she thought her writing was, today Clara's diary is a treasured relic that provides us with a detailed look into the life of a young Southern sympathizer whose sentiments only grew stronger as she matured.

Clara was a typical, yet witty young girl who enjoyed school, playing with friends and pulling practical jokes. Clara's vibrant spirit and zest for life won the hearts of those around her. Clara's biggest admirer was a young boy named Joe Ross. Clara's friends often teased her "nearly to death about him," because he came over "nearly every evening to play Goosa Gander, & hiding seek." Clara thought, "How funny it was that he should fall in love at first sight." Clara seemed uninterested in adolescent romances when she began her journal at age 14. In her first entry on October 20, 1853, Clara wrote, "Eliza Fish and Lou think they are too big to play with us, dear knows I think they had better do it than think so much about beauz, But indeed Lou has got a beau!" While her friends were being caught up in teenage sagas, Clara "would be ashamed of it only fourteen" to have a boyfriend. However, the love bug caught hold of Joe Ross as he was "haunted" by Clara's image and made her the "heroin of every poem" he wrote. Clara thought it was amusing that her "Mr Journal Joe" was a poet but still appreciated his "beautifal poetry."

Noticing that her "journals name begins like Joe's," she decided to name her journal "Joe" after her young admirer. Although Clara was fond of Joe, there was another man whom she liked "ten times better" than him. His name was Frederick Anderson. Anderson was visiting Salisbury "from Philadelphia" and became quite infatuated with young Clara even though he was "twice" her "own age." Clara described him as "devinely handsome" and that he had "such a beautifal mostache." He sent her "flowers and such sweet little notes" until he left Salisbury on July 6, 1854. In her journal Clara described the end of her relationship with Mr. Anderson:

> *Such a cry as I have had, my heart is very sad Mr Anderson is gone. left this morning. I was in the yard when he passed, He kissed his hand & waved the farewell, that I had objected to his taking before. I threw a handful of flowers in the carrage, they were wet with my tears & as they fell on his hand he sprang from the carrage & came to me, I was standing half hidden amid the shrubary, He kissed my hands wildly madly & implored me not to drive him away forever I was acting from the head not the heart, It was hard to conceal my emotions, & calmly say good by, but I did it, with as much outward composure as if my heart had be made of marble …*

Clara had heard Mr. Anderson was a "bad man, or at least not a man of pure principals & morals," so she ignored her heart and said good-bye to him forever. The young girl who was not interested in "beauz" had suffered her first heartbreak. The day that Mr. Anderson left, Clara went to her room and "cried all the morning." Later that evening when Clara went to dinner "Mrs Hooper wanted to know the cause of her "swolen eyes." Clara told Mrs. Hooper that she had been "reading a very beautifal & affecting book" and "pretended to her that" she was "crying over the romance, the web of fiction, when all the time it was sturn reality."

Two weeks later Clara's broken heart was healed and she never mentioned Mr. Anderson's name in her journal again. Although Mr. Anderson was long gone, Clara's first admirer Joe was still pining over her. On July 20, 1854, Clara wrote, "Mr Staton keeps me posted on the temperature of his heart. Here is a piece of poetry Mr Staton found in his portfolio dedicated to me":

Fair Clara, ans't thou e'er forget
Those happy days now long since fled,
When oft at twilight hour we met,
And hope our youthful passion fed!
Cans't thou look back without a sigh,
Upon those visions of the past?
Or does a tear bedim thine eye.
To think such scenes can never last?
Fair girl, we meet as strangers now,
We interchange no look nor word;
But yet I gaze on thy fair brow,
And start when thy sweet voice is heard.
Yess now thou art so changed and cold,
I dare not meet they lovely gaze;
It brings up thoughts of days of old,-
Those by-gone happy youthful days.

Clara did "not mean to be unkind or to cause him one moments suffering," but she had a very different outlook on love. Clara thought Joe "must believe in the old motto Love once, love forever…" However, that was not Clara's "polacy," she vowed to "be like a bee, fly from flower, to flower, and love nobody." Clara thought it was "ridiculous" that her friends swooned over boys so much and vowed to keep her heart in a "steal cage," while others looked at it "through the bars."

On September 7, 1854, just two days before her 15th birthday, Clara left Salisbury for boarding school in Baltimore. She was received well by her teachers, especially Mr. Brooks who "was particularly struck with our name, he was delighted to meet a person by the name of Gunby." The Gunby name was "held in the highest reverence, on account of the deeds of bravery in our revolutinary struggle that one of our ancestors performed, Brigadere General Gunby." Mr. Brooks had even collected "some dacuments" on General Gunby and informed Clara for the first time that her "great revelutionary sire was the founder of a charitable institution for disabled soldiers; another for widows and orphans." Learning this made Clara "contented, and happy."

Finding that the city, with "Musquitoes ... thick as the locusts were in Egypt," was very different from her quiet country home, Clara longed to return home even it was only for a "little while." She spent her time "studying very hard" and listening to "Bethooven's music." Clara continued to be one of Mr. Brooks' favorite pupils, calling her "one of the most delightful puzzles he had ever met …" Mr. Brooks was also very impressed with Clara's kindness and compassion, that there "was no one who more readily bestowed the tear of sympathy, or relieved the suffering and afflicted."

A pristine example of Clara's kindness and compassion is when she gave her "last pair of shoes" to a little "begger girl" while attending a female academy in Baltimore. One "cold chillie evening," around nightfall a young girl dressed in "thin and scant" clothing was sitting on the steps of her school. The young girl was by herself, crying, "as if her heart would break …" Clara wrote, "Louis turned her from the door, just then I saw her from the window wringing her hands in despair …" Clara invited her inside and put her near the fire to get warm while she went upstairs. After Clara gave the little girl her last pair of shoes, some money and "dressed her," she "kissed her pure white forehead" and the girl "hurried to her sick mother." Of the incident Clara wrote, "Poor dear child how could I help it, it was nothing more than my duty …" Clara found the College in Baltimore as "a little world of our own" that was "pleasant," yet boring. Clara left Forktown on August 22, 1854, to attend the Baltimore Female Academy where she graduated with distinction. It is believed that she studied art while attending the Female Academy. Clara chose art as a means of expression and produced a number of professional paintings during her lifetime. Upon graduation from the Baltimore Female Academy, Clara returned home to the Eastern Shore. After the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the "pleasant," yet "humdrum" life that Clara had been living would be turned upside down.

When the war broke out, there was no question in the Gunby family as to where their sympathies would lie. Her family and many of the others living in Salisbury staunchly supported the Confederacy. When the Civil War began many men, both young and old, rushed off to enlist in the Confederate Army. Thousands of fathers, husbands, sons and brothers never returned home. Clara and her family were always concerned with the safety of her two brothers, Frank and John, who were off fighting for the Confederacy. In the hottest years of the war, Clara made up parcels of clothing and other articles to supply aid for Confederate troops. To Clara, any one of the Confederate soldiers that were barely clothed, starving, wounded or slain on the field of battle could be her brothers Frank or John. Thinking of her poor brothers as torn and tattered soldiers allowed Clara to pity Union troops, even if they were the enemy. When Clara witnessed the sight of "several regiments of Yankees going home" while she was at Fort Delaware she wrote, "poor things, if they were the enemies I pity them."

After reading in the paper that her brother Frank Gunby was imprisoned at Fort Delaware, she and "a friend went to headquarters to procure a pass to visit him." Clara was "beside herself with conflicting emotions" when she read in the "paper" that her brother was being held prisoner, she "wept and smiled alternately." Immediately Clara and "a friend went to headquarters to procure a pass to visit" her brother at Fort Delaware. Although Clara described herself as "not naturally dignified," "it seems to come naturally when I am thrown with the Yanks." When Clara met with Colonel Fish at headquarters, she "acted as if she was conferring the favor, and not the one who asked." Fish gave her the pass to Fort Delaware "without a moments hesitation." On arriving at Fort Delaware, she at once engaged the attention of the Com. Gen. Scheff, whose wife was a Maryland lady. Clara was taken in and entertained comfortably as she waited in "breathless suspense" to learn if her brother was presently imprisoned at the Fort or "among the slain." Finding her brother was not there, she, through the influence of Mrs. Scheff, distributed what she had brought to some of the Confederate prisoners. In her diary, Clara notes that she engaged in preparing supplies to smuggle to the Confederate troops and during that time ran into trouble with Northern soldiers.

Salisbury, like many other towns in Maryland, was occupied by Federal troops. The headquarters for the Union army on the Eastern Shore was located in the center of the town at Upton Hill. Camp Upton was strategically located, could easily be defended and was within artillery range of all targets in the town. Salisbury was chosen as the Union headquarters because it was the terminus of the railroad line to the North. The Federal troops sent to this location were to prevent contraband from being shipped to the Confederacy, to prevent any war activity and to give support to the few Unionists in the vicinity. It is in her contact with these Federal troops that Clara's exciting story begins.

The presence of the Federal troops in these anti-Union towns often caused tension and hostility with the residents living there. In many towns, the women refused to walk on the same side of the streets as the "Yankees." Yankee soldiers also hung flags across the streets of Salisbury to show support for the Union and to weaken Confederate pride. One day Clara was walking down a street in Salisbury on her way to "invite some friends to be bridesmaids at her wedding" to William Huffington when she ran into trouble with Federal troops. A strong supporter of the Confederacy, Clara refused to walk under a Union flag. Clara quickly caught the attention of several Union soldiers standing nearby when she walked "around" the flag rather then under it: "Her companion remarked that some soldiers, who just happened to be near, were watching them." The next day Clara was placed under arrest until arrangements could be made to send her South. She was confined to her home in Salisbury, guarded day and night by 25 to 30 men. While she was under house arrest, Union soldiers tried to force her to walk under the Union flag by placing a Union flag from every door to her home. In order to avoid recognizing the flag, she entered her home by climbing in and out of a window.

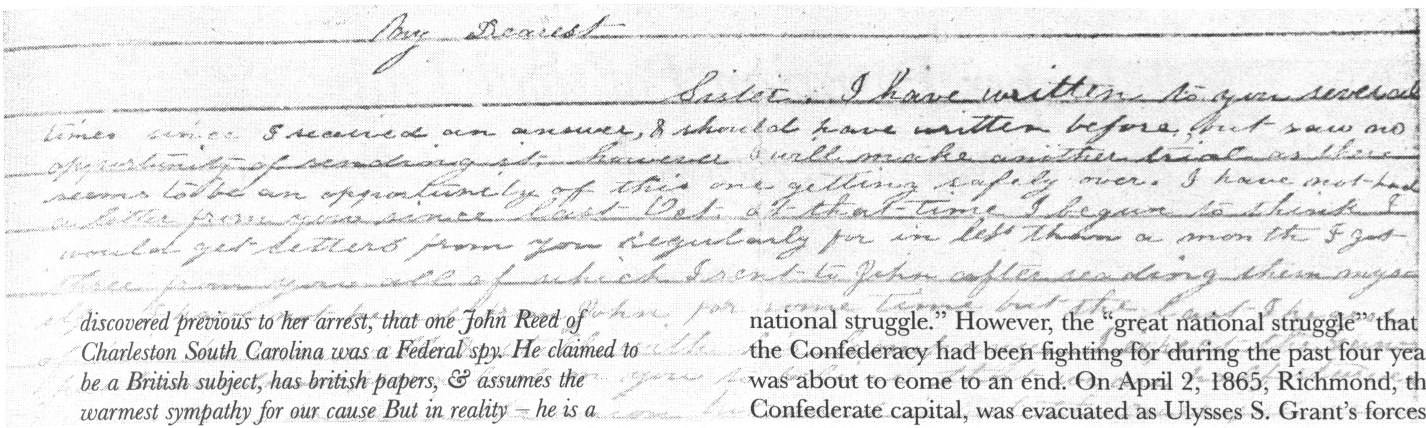
Tried before a military commission, Clara was ordered to be deported South. When she was taken to headquarters, she displayed her "fiery courage." She inquired if she was the first woman to be imprisoned at the camp. The officer responded "yes," and she replied, "Then I hoped I would be the last, unless he could teach his men better manners." Following her trial, Clara was placed in a room at the Washington Hotel in Baltimore and was under constant guard for two weeks. For her release Clara needed only to take the Union loyalty oath, but she refused. She wrote, "Mr. Huffington came in this afternoon. Wants me to take the oath. Not I. Death Before Submission." Eventually Clara was deported south to Fortress Monroe, a federal prison in Virginia, were she was placed in company with a Confederate spy, Amy Francis Cormick. Before being exchanged for a Northern prisoner and sent to Richmond, Cormick gave Clara a message, which she later delivered to Confederate President Jefferson Davis.

Upon Clara's release, she was sent to Richmond where she was introduced into the best of Confederate society. Clara stayed with the Crokers, a prominent family of "old school" South Carolinians. Clara felt a "strong attachment" to them, and they fervently tried to persuade her to remain with them at their home "till after the war." Clara described Mrs. Croker as wearing "a look of anxious care" while worried about her "younger son" who was presently in the hands of the "enemy" at Fort Delaware, and as she nursed her wounded husband, Captain Croker. Clara described Captain Croker as a "strong" man who, although badly wounded, "sprang" to his feet and declared that "he was strong able & willing to go to his post of duty ..." to protect the South from the Yankees. Spending a lot of time with the Croker family, Clara became very close to them. It was Captain Croker who advised Clara to "deliver the messuage" which Amy Cormick had given her to President Davis "without a moments delay." Clara proceeded to write "a few lines on a card" that read:

> *While imprisoned at Fortress Monroe, a message was given to me with a promice of immediate delivery to you in person. Hoping you will grant me an interview this evening*
> *I am very respectfully*
> *Clara Gunby.*

The following is an excerpt from Clara Gunby's diary summarizing the message that she delivered to President Davis:

> *Spottswood Hotel*
> *July 13th 1864*
> *We were shown to a reception room, after sending the note to the president. In a few minutes he came down He took a chair very near me. I told him that I met Mrs. Amy Francis Cormick in prison at Fortress Monroe; that I could not vouch for the truth_fulness of the message as the lady was a stranger to me. "He said he knew her & would trust to every word she uttered." I then stated to him that Mrs Cormick has*



My Dearest

Sister I have written to you several
times since I received an answer, & should have written before, but saw no
opportunity of sending it. however I will make another trial as there
seems to be an opportunity of this one getting safely over. I have not had
a letter from you since last Oct. at that time I began to think I
would get letters from you regularly for in less than a month I got
three from you all of which I sent to John after reading them myse

> *discovered previous to her arrest, that one John Reed of Charleston South Carolina was a Federal spy. He claimed to be a British subject, has british papers, & assumes the warmest sympathy for our cause But in reality – he is a Yankee of the Massachusetts school & ----- nephew of old Butler, that he had ------ ----- ---- a short time ago a shell distroy part of… his house & he moved 3 miles in the country. that he had done immense damage to the cause, & doubtless would ultimately be the means of the distruction of that devoted city. There was information of an underground attack of Richmond by Gen Mead, that Grant had 13,000,000 cartridges in reserve for the Capitol of of the Confederacy. Thad the midnight attack made by our troops, was comunicated to the Yankees by a spy from this city. - That Butler had six letters in his posession which was highly important, should be demanded by our government …*

As we discover from this entry in Clara's diary, she exposed John Reed as a Yankee spy and also informed the president of other important military information that proved "valuable to Confederate generals in the field." President Davis received Clara very well. "He took hold of my hand in the most fatherly & benevolent manner & gave me a hearty welcome to the Confederate States, & kindly offerd himself in any way he could befriend me." Clara wrote of President Davis:

> *he looked so venerable, so good & kind that I should have loved & admired him if he had been a beggar. He looks as if he was in delicate heath. he is very thin. with long white hair. He looks prematurely old, there are deep traces of care disernable, yet the pure chaste & unblemished smile that so often lightens his countenance, convinces us that the look of pain & care is for others woes, for a suffering nation, & not remorse of concience, or guilty upbradings of the past.*

Upon telling President Davis that she had been separated from her two brothers who were both in the army, he "enthusiastically exclaimed" that if "they are in Verginia you shall see them before three days." He also provided for her employment for the remainder of the war by recommending her for an "appointment to a clerkship" in Richmond. Clara was reunited with her brothers, although it took four days instead of the three that President Davis had promised. It took longer for her brothers to reach her because they were in "distant parts of the country." Upon seeing her brothers after three years of separation, Clara "could not realize all this joy was real." Thinking their reunion might be one of "sleeps dreamy visions," she "pressed her nales in my flesh till the blood oozed to the surface" to make sure it was real.

Although Clara was extremely distraught by the "painful separation from my state, my home and my dear dear friends," the "truly … lovely, generous, and hospitable" Virginia people filled the "aching void" she felt during the war. Before long Clara began to regard those around her as "scattered branches of a huge family" that were all "united together" by their "great national struggle." However, the "great national struggle" that the Confederacy had been fighting for during the past four years was about to come to an end. On April 2, 1865, Richmond, the Confederate capital, was evacuated as Ulysses S. Grant's forces began a general advance and broke through Lee's lines at Petersburg. Deciding not to leave the city, Clara was awakened at four o'clock early the next morning by the "blowing up of gunboats… roaring & exploding far & near." Clara watched as Richmond fell to the Union in a complete "state of demeralization." Fire and looting broke out as the city was destroyed by the Yankees and "screaming Negro soldiers." Negros rushed by "with jewels plate cut glass pict---- whole pieces of cotton cloth boots flour bacon sugar & coffee & every thing." As Clara watched the "enemy" raise the Union flag over Richmond, her heart sank "to see the hateful rug over our National Capitol." As Abraham Lincoln arrived, he shook hands "with all the negros, They call him/his Savior & Jesus Cr-"

Shortly after Union troops invaded and captured Richmond, the remaining Confederate forces surrendered as well. The nation finally began its long road to reconstruction as the Civil War ended in May 1865. Over 620,000 Americans died in the war, disease killing twice as many as those lost in battle. Fifty-thousand survivors returned home as amputees. Among the survivors were Clara's two brothers Frank and John. After the war's end, Clara also returned home to Salisbury. She married William Huffington in 1865 after being engaged for several years, their wedding having been postponed by her arrest and exile to Virginia. Together they had two children, a son Marion and a daughter Charlotte. During the remainder of her life nothing was mentioned of the adventures and hardships which she endured during the war. Although it is uncertain what her occupation was when she returned to the Eastern Shore, it is clear from her correspondence that the rest of her life was calm and quiet. Some believe she may have worked as a teacher while others say she served as a nurse. Clara continued her passion for the arts as many examples of her art work, paintings and poems have survived through the years. Several original paintings are currently on display in Poplar Hill Mansion in Salisbury, and others are on display in the Edward H. Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture. Although Clara Gunby Huffington passed away on October 2, 1890, her journal and letters remain as a testimonial to the courage and stamina of a young girl fighting for a cause outlawed in her own state.

A Proper Patrician Political Lady:

Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland, Advisor to President Abraham Lincoln

by C. Kay Larson

> *Better that Washington had perished like Hampden. That Jefferson had never drafted the Declaration of Independence. That Lee, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, Livingston, etc., had died like Sydney and Russell upon the block, than that this Union, created to be the daylight to break the night of ages, should finally collapse, and traitors be permitted to write the epitaph, 'it lived and died.'*
>
> — *Anna Ella Carroll,* Reply

Introduction

On May 13, 1862, Rep. William Mitchell (R-IN) wrote Anna Ella Carroll, advisor to President Abraham Lincoln, about a meeting he attended the night before with seven or eight members of Congress at the White House. A servant entered the office with a box and note. The president opened the box that contained products from Belize, read the note from Carroll and seemed pleased. He turned to the congressmen proclaiming, "Miss Anna Ella Carroll is the head of the Carroll race, and when the history of this war is written, she will stand a good bit taller than ever old Charles did."

So how did a Southern patrician lady like Anna Ella Carroll, born into one of the most prominent planting families in Maryland, come to be so highly regarded by Abraham Lincoln?

Early Life

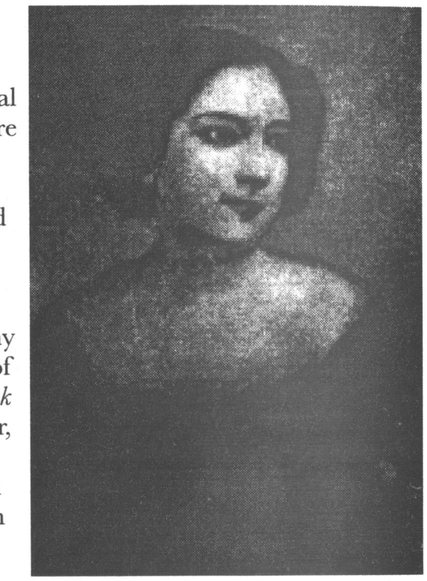
Anna Ella Carroll was born on August 29, 1815, the eldest of nine children of Thomas King Carroll and the former Juliana Stevenson, at the family's plantation residence, Kingston Hall, in Somerset County. Growing into adulthood, Anna gravitated to her father's King family Anglo-Irish Presbyterian heritage that historically included conflicts with the Anglican and Catholic Churches, due to a strict separation of state/church Calvinist doctrine. Anna's Calvinist/Whig background would color her political views all her life, as was the case with the majority of American puritan Protestants. Carroll became a textbook case in American Whig culture which emphasized: liberty and equality; an activist, improving government; promotion of education and technology; and a moral reforming component.

From an early age Anna became involved in her father's political activities that culminated in his election as governor in 1830. Her childhood was spent largely in the library, absorbing classic intellectual tracts. As an example of her precociousness, at age 11, she was ingesting the writings of German philosopher Immanuel Kant. Later, she likely was tutored in the law by her father.

In 1850, Governor Carroll was appointed Naval Officer for the District of Baltimore. Millard Fillmore signed the commission following Zachary Taylor's untimely death. This federal position ushered Anna and her father onto the national political stage. She promoted his career, and members of Fillmore's cabinet became Anna's long-time political colleagues: Thomas Corwin, Edward Everett, Reverdy Johnson, among others.

A She-Politician

In 1852, Carroll supported Whig presidential candidates: Millard Fillmore who lost the nomination and Winfield Scott who captured it. She introduced herself to party leader William H. Seward, informing him, "By education & association, my interest is more than that of ladies ordinarily. I *read, think & write.*" By 1854, however, political alliances were being roiled by slavery and other morality issues which brought more women into the political arena. Democratic proslavery forces had become aggressive, pushing to acquire Cuba and open the territories to slavery. The Whig Party was defunct and Northern Democrats had been decimated at the polls due to their support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act. These defeats handed Democratic congressional leadership over to Southerners who, increasingly, advanced a Southern agenda. In response the Republican Party was formed in the Northwest, largely on a free-soil basis. The nation as a whole was also tumulting from rapid urbanization and a flood of immigration from Ireland and the British Isles, which brought nativist (anti-immigrant) impulses to the fore.



Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland. Photograph of portrait hung in home of niece Nellie Carroll. University of Tampa Press.

In this turbulent environment, Anna Ella Carroll and many other Whigs, native workingmen and new political entrants chose to join the American or Know-Nothing party. Although largely known as a nativist vehicle, many like Carroll saw the party as an engine for "moral reform." Activists vowed to clean up urban machine corruption and crime; protect workingmen; and advance the causes of free speech, temperance, Sabbatarianism and the antislavery movement (all of which had anti-Catholic Church implications). Carroll herself had assumed part of her father's debt to keep their slave families from being sold; and in 1860, she freed her own slaves.

In Maryland, large numbers of immigrants who worked in Baltimore's sprawling port and rail facilities added to Democratic Party rolls. Planters were a potent force in the state. Thus, potentially Democratic slaveholders could lead the Irish and German Catholic vote in Baltimore to establish a proslavery state government. But in 1853, the American Party was formed from three nativist groups. In February of that year, the 4,000 laborers at the Baltimore ironworks went on strike and Democratic leaders refused to support them. In response, they joined the American Party en masse. Thus, the Americans quickly became the most powerful force in the state. They also constituted the only progressive party, as they were antislavery, pro-Union and pro-labor.

In 1856, Millard Fillmore ran again for president as the nominee of the South American Party faction (the party had split over the issue of slavery) and the remnants of the Whigs. As a major publicist for him, Carroll wrote able pamphlets and traveled the Northeast on his behalf. Two campaign books were produced: *The Great American Battle*, largely an anti-Catholic Church tract, sold 10,000 copies in 10 weeks; *The Star of the West*, a more progressive work, "greatly extended [Carroll's] acquaintance with leading men." (GN:78) Democrat James Buchanan defeated Republican John C. Fremont and Fillmore for the presidency that year. Yet in 1857, Carroll was back on the campaign trail, writing for Thomas H. Hicks, the American Party candidate for governor of Maryland. He later credited his victory to her writings.

By 1859, the American party disbanded and the Republicans emerged as the strongest challenge to the Democrats in the upcoming presidential election. In this contest, Carroll promoted the candidacy of John Minor Botts, a former Unionist congressman from Virginia who found difficulty garnering Northern or Southern support. Yet after operating at the national level for 10 years, Carroll herself had become a significant figure. Her commanding influence was described as eliciting numerous visits from "the magnates of the land." So when Abraham Lincoln was elected president in November 1860 on the Republican ticket, Carroll likely had few doubts as to the influence she could wield within his administration, particularly since his margin of victory had been provided by the 1856 Northern anti-slavery American party vote.

The Secession Crisis

By March 1861, when Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated the 16th president of the United States, seven Southern states had already seceded from the Union and the Confederate government was established in Montgomery, Alabama, with former Senator Jefferson C. Davis having been elected its president. Hostilities broke out on April 12 when Fort Sumter, located in Charleston harbor, South Carolina, was bombarded by Confederate forces. The next day, Major Robert Anderson, the U. S. commander, surrendered. In response on April 15, Lincoln called 75,000 state militia to suppress the rebellion and "cause the laws to be duly executed." Within three weeks, four more Border states seceded: Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina.

Key to the survival of the federal government was Maryland whose own extremists fomented insurrection following Sumter. On April 19, in Baltimore, troops of the 6th Massachusetts regiment, en route to Washington, were attacked by a mob while transferring between train stations. This riot left 16 civilians and soldiers dead. Railroad and telegraph lines to the North were cut and bridges around Baltimore were burned to prevent more federal troops from passing through. Governor Thomas Hicks was under intense pressure to call a session of his legislature which Confederate sympathizers hoped would vote secession. Southern commissioners visited Hicks, threatening him with bodily harm if he did not call the body and stated to him that Lincoln and Hamlin would never be inaugurated.

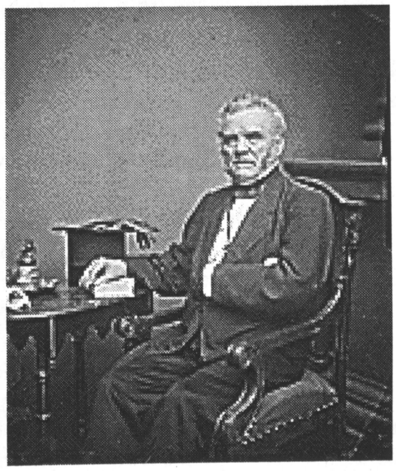
Pres. Millard Fillmore of New York who obtained the South American party faction nomination in 1856. National Archives.

At this critical juncture, Anna Ella Carroll was in Washington gathering intelligence: "I am in a [boarding] house with many Senators and Representatives. The ladies seem to rely more on me than on their husbands for information and knowledge of Southern intentions." She encouraged Hicks to maintain his Union stance and flooded the legislature and the press with articles and letters. She first met Lincoln at a White House reception on the April 19, and they talked for some time about conditions in Maryland.

The threat to Washington eased when on April 25, the 7th New York and 8th Massachusetts regiments entered the capital after landing by ship at Annapolis and marching across southern Maryland. Subsequently, Lincoln approved the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and imposed martial law in Maryland. On May 13, federal troops occupied Baltimore and later Frederick where the legislature finally met, concluding little.

When, at the president's request, a special session of Congress convened on July 4 to meet the crisis, Lincoln addressed the body, justifying his call of the militia, extraordinary legal actions and imposition of a naval blockade. In response, in a speech given on July 16, Senator John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky argued that Lincoln had acted unconstitutionally and had made war on the Southern states.

Carroll penned her first major political pamphlet as a reply to Breckinridge. Quoting Southern officials, she claimed that the Confederates were planning secession as far back as 1850. Further, the real reason for the bombardment of Sumter was to force Virginia and other Border states out of the Union. Virginia's convention was meeting on April 12 when Sumter was attacked. Members had voted secession and an alliance with the Confederacy on April 17 in response to Lincoln's call for militia. The body perceived


Gov. Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland for whom Carroll served as a campaign publicist and political confidante. National Archives.

this as an act of Northern coercion, an issue on which all Southern states were united, of which secession leaders were well aware, as Carroll argued. On March 5, L.Q. Washington, an underground leader, wrote Confederate Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker from the capital relating that in a meeting with other secessionists the night before, they had concluded that Lincoln would attempt to hold Fort Sumter, continuing: "I fear the present Virginia Convention will not pass an ordinance of secession unless a collision or war ensues; then public feeling will force them to it. There is a majority of old Federalist submissionists, who got in by pretending to be resistance men." On April 10, Congressman Roger Pryor, a Virginia firebrand, speaking in Charleston, urged, "... 'that just so certain as tomorrow's sun will rise upon us, just so certain will Virginia be a member of the Southern Confederacy. We will put her in if you but strike a blow.'"

Carroll and other Unionists also accused secessionists of plotting to assassinate Lincoln on his way to Washington and planning a coup d'état of the capital, if both Maryland and Virginia seceded:

> With Maryland out of the Union they expected to inaugurate their "Southern Confederacy" in the Capitol of the United States on the expiration of President Buchanan's term ... and by divesting the North of the seat of government ... they calculated with great confidence upon recognition of national independence by European powers.

A congressional committee formed in January to investigate such rumors concluded that any coup plot being developed by local organizations was "rendered contingent upon the secession of either Maryland or Virginia, or both, and the sanction of one of those states."

Although the committee seemed unfazed by drilling militia in and around Washington, General-in-Chief Winfield Scott, who had received scores of letters warning of danger, was not. On January 29, he wrote Secretary of War Joseph Holt:

> It is not necessary to be an alarmist to believe that the federal metropolis will be at the next inauguration, may on the 13th of February & even much earlier, in great peril, & I am obliged to add that without a considerable augmentation of troops I don't feel that I can guarantee its safety during the next five days.

On February 18, 1861, Secretary Holt sent a message to Congress explaining his reasons for assembling troops in the capital. His belief of a threatened coup was based on:

> ... the oft-repeated declaration of men in high political positions here, and who were known to have intimate affiliations with the Revolution—if indeed they did not hold its reins in their hands—to the effect that Mr. Lincoln would not, or should not be inaugurated at Washington. Such declarations, from such men, could not be treated as empty bluster. They were the solemn utterances of those who well understood the import of their words ...

The strongest direct evidence of a coup plot is a telegram dated April 23, 1861, sent by Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens from Richmond to Jefferson Davis, "Programme is to hold Fortress Monroe, Washington City, retake Harpers' Ferry ..." By that date, federal reinforcements had not yet arrived; Southern roughs had streamed into the capital, ready to form the revolutionary mobs; hundreds of secessionist militia were drilling inside and outside the city; and 3,000 militia were encamped near Baltimore ready to march on Washington if Maryland seceded.

Carroll sent a copy of her Breckinridge piece to Lincoln who then requested that she write more pieces for the administration. She produced a short treatise on *habeas corpus* in August 1861; *The War Powers of the General Government at the end of 1861;* and her fourth pamphlet, *The Relation of the National Government to the Revolted Citizens Defined*, in 1862.

Due to the volatile conditions threatening the capital in the spring of 1861, in her pamphlets Carroll argued that Lincoln's imposition of martial law and suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* were legal actions:

> The law of war is martial law. But martial law is nothing more than the application of military force to overcome the resistance of an enemy who acknowledges no other rule than that of force. And hence ... the military commander must necessarily have the power to set aside every civil authority which might assume to interfere in any way so as to control or embarrass the operations of the war. If a civil judge can issue a *writ of ... habeas corpus* to bring before him the bodies of soldiers or captives alleged to be illegally detained, then there is an end to all military authority, and the commander might as well raise the white flag and submit to the enemy at once.

Carroll argued that it is an executive function to make the *political* decision as to whether an insurrection has reached such proportions as to merit the imposition of extra legal measures. Presidential war powers constitute preventive powers, rather than punitive ones that are a judicial function.

Carroll circulated these pamphlets in Washington and Maryland to bolster pro-Union sentiment. Governor Hicks wrote "... the Union State Committee must go to work and send your documents over the entire state, if they expect to carry this election. No money can ever pay you for what you have done for the state and the country in this terrible crisis."

For writing her first pamphlet, Assistant Secretary of War Thomas A. Scott entered into a verbal contract with Carroll and initially paid her $ 1,250 from his own monies. Ten thousand copies of the Breckinridge *Reply* were distributed largely in Maryland. The other two war powers papers were approved by Lincoln and the cabinet and distributed. By 1862, the government owed Carroll $5,000 for publishing and disseminating these pieces. After the war, Carroll attempted to obtain reimbursement; private bills were submitted to Congress, but she was only paid $750 from the Secret Service fund.

The Tennessee River Campaign

With Maryland finally secure, in the fall of 1861, Carroll turned her attention to military matters. In October, she traveled to St. Louis with Judge Lemuel Evans, a secret agent appointed by Seward who had met with Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont, commander of the Western Department, in August. Carroll's statements indicate that she was engaged to help sleuth out intelligence. Upon arrival she ensconced herself at the Mercantile Library to work on her second war powers paper. Not coincidentally, the head librarian was Edward William

Johnston, Confederate General Joe Johnston's brother. Evans and Carroll met almost daily for discussions.

At this time, the major Western Union military plan was to deploy combined army-navy forces down the Mississippi River to open it to Northern commerce and serve as the line of invasion into the South. Acting partly in response to Confederates' smug sense of their invincibility and hoping to gain insight into the operation, Carroll sought an interview with Captain Charles Scott who was a pilot working with the expedition. Scott said he thought the Mississippi plan ill-advised. There were many strong defensible points on the river and it could take years just to open it up to navigation, let alone use the route to stage a successful invasion of the South. He added this was the view of every river pilot associated with the expedition.

Carroll then inquired about the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Scott said they were better suited for such a movement and gave her technical details as to water levels, channel widths, the draft needed for gunboats and transports, etc. Soon Judge Evans joined the conversation and later corroborated Carroll's version of it in congressional hearings.

As a result of this meeting, Carroll wrote a memorandum, recommending that the Lincoln administration change its invasion route from the Mississippi to the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers. Her most important points were:

> The Tennessee offers many advantages over the Mississippi. We should avoid the almost impregnable batteries of the enemy, which cannot be taken without great danger and great risk of life to our forces, from the fact that our boats, if crippled, would fall a prey to the enemy, by being swept away by the current to him. … Now, an advance up the Tennessee river would avoid this danger; for, *if our boats were crippled, they would drop back with the current and escape capture.* But, a still greater advantage would be its tendency *to cut the enemy's lines in two, by reaching the Memphis and Charleston railroad,* threatening Memphis, which lies one hundred miles due west, and no defensible point between; also Nashville, only ninety miles northeast … A movement in this direction would do more to relieve our friends in Kentucky, and inspire the loyal hearts in East Tennessee than the possession of the whole of the [M]ississippi river.

Carroll sent her plan to Asst. Secretary of War Scott who took it to Lincoln. Meeting with Senator Benjamin F. Wade, the newly appointed chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, Lincoln informed him of Carroll's plan. Wade thought it viable and backed Edwin Stanton for appointment as secretary of war to bring order and new energy to the War Department, replacing Simon Cameron. In letters submitted years later, both Wade and Scott testified that Carroll's plan had contributed to U. S. victories in the Western Department.

During this same time, Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, the new U. S. military commander in St. Louis, wrote General-in-Chief George B. McClellan on January 20, 1862, that the true line of invasion was the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, but he would require 60,000 reinforcements from throughout the Midwest. Although during January Lincoln had pressed his Western commanders for action, when on January 26 he learned that the mortar boats being fitted out for the Mississippi River expedition would not soon be completed, the President determined to take matters into his own hands and implement a "change of Programme." The next day he issued War Order No. 1, I believe, as a means of implementing Carroll's Tennessee River plan, it being one facet of a nation-wide movement of all military forces, ordered for February 22.

But, events intervened. On January 29, McClellan wired Halleck that Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard would be reinforcing Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate commander in Tennessee. The same night, Asst. Secretary of War Scott left for the West to organize reinforcements for Halleck. The governors of all the Midwestern states were to report to him weekly on their mobilization efforts. The next day, on January 30, Halleck ordered Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Flag Officer Andrew Hull Foote to immediately move on Fort Henry.

Thus, on February 2, a joint force comprising navy ironclad gunboats and transports and army troops advanced upon the Tennessee River. Fort Henry fell to Foote on February 6; Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River fell to Grant's and Foote's combined forces on February 16. These represented the first Union victories of the war, as noted by Gen. William Sherman later.

It could be argued that Carroll's role in the Tennessee River campaign was insignificant compared to that of the military commanders. However, even by conservative standards, Carroll abetted a change in a major strategic plan of the war and provided intelligence that helped achieve consensus on and confidence in the Tennessee River plan that led to the assistance given in mobilizing reinforcements for Grant and Foote; and helped precipitate the appointment of Edwin M. Stanton as secretary of war. During the remainder of the war, Carroll closely followed military events and sent a number of memoranda to Stanton suggesting movements.

Anna Ella Carroll's as well as Halleck's, Foote's, Lincoln's, Stanton's and Scott's roles in the Tennessee River campaign have been all but ignored by historians, as Grant has largely been credited with these victories. However, Grant's own writings have been the main sources of this. Indeed Grant did lobby Halleck on the merits of moving quickly on Fort Henry, but by that date Halleck had already declared the same strategic view, at least twice. Those addressing Carroll's claim to the plan have failed to properly research the decision-making, particularly Washington's role. Given Carroll's influence within the administration and that she was working in tandem with a U. S. secret agent appointed by Seward, her claim is more than credible.

Conclusion

Anna Ella Carroll's final role in the Lincoln administration related to colonization and emancipation. She promoted a plan to establish a colony for freedmen in British Belize, which she hoped would provide a sound haven for African-Americans; and could help stem Confederate expansion into Central America as well. In her pamphlets, Carroll argued that authorities could not emancipate slaves as part of a blanket order, as it would punish Southern citizens, whose guilt in the rebellion had not been proven, which was a violation of the laws of war. A president could only emancipate slaves under his powers as commander-in-chief, as their labor had become part of the public military force of the Confederacy. But emancipation could only be a temporary war measure; a constitutional amendment was needed to make it permanent. Indeed, the Emancipation Proclamation takes its authority from Lincoln's powers as commander-in-chief.

Although legally Carroll supported the president's action, privately she lobbied Lincoln against issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, arguing that it would harden anti-Union sentiment in the South. She believed that Southern Unionists would perceive the Proclamation as changing the rationale for the war from one of preserving the Union to that of subjugating the South. What she did not recognize, however, was that the Confederates were putting up a very good fight without Unionist support, and the North needed to deprive the Confederates of every operational advantage, which the work of slaves represented.

During the war, Carroll also took on personal cases: "... her sympathy and interest extended themselves toward the prisons, the battlefields, and the hospitals, and many were the individual cases of suffering and want that she relieved. She was especially successful with procuring discharges for Union prisoners, and where such were in need her own means were most generously used to give adequate help." She lobbied officials to obtain jobs for sole-surviving family members, notably young women and veterans. In the postwar years, she was involved in Maryland state politics and continued her writing career. However during the 1870s and '80s, Carroll's life largely became consumed in trying to gain reimbursement for the monies the government still owed her for her publications. She went through 20 years of congressional hearings, during which every military committee but one voted in her favor. Yet no bill passed the Congress, even though she was strongly supported by Senator Wade, Judge Evans and suffrage, veterans' and women's organizations nation-wide.

Anna Ella Carroll died in 1894; she is buried in the graveyard of the Old Trinity Episcopal Church in Dorchester County where her family moved in 1840. At the end she was an invalid, supported by her sister and funds raised by the Grand Army of the Republic and the Woman's Relief Corps veterans' organizations. In succeeding generations most of Carroll's family turned their backs on her because of her pro-Union stand. And so have most historians.

About the Author
C. Kay Larson is an independent scholar and the author of Great Necessities: The Life, Times, and Writings of Anna Ella Carroll, 1815-1894; and South Under a Prairie Sky: The Journal of Nell Churchill, U. S. Army Nurse & Scout, a fact-based work of fiction, as well as other works on military and maritime history.

Events for Spring 2009

Voice of the Artifact Display - Whether the item is a great historic monument, document, relic or local ephemera, artifacts can illuminate historical fact by creating a sensory experience that connects the past to the present in a unique and valuable way. This display, free and open to the public, explores the voice of local artifacts and runs through spring 2009. The Nabb Research Center is located in the East Campus Complex of Salisbury University, Room 190.

Family History Research Workshop - Saturday, January 24, 9 a.m.–Noon, Dr. Ray Thompson, director of the Nabb Research Center, presents how-to steps for gathering and researching family history at the Nabb Research Center. The cost of the workshop is $30. Call 410-543-6312 for registration.

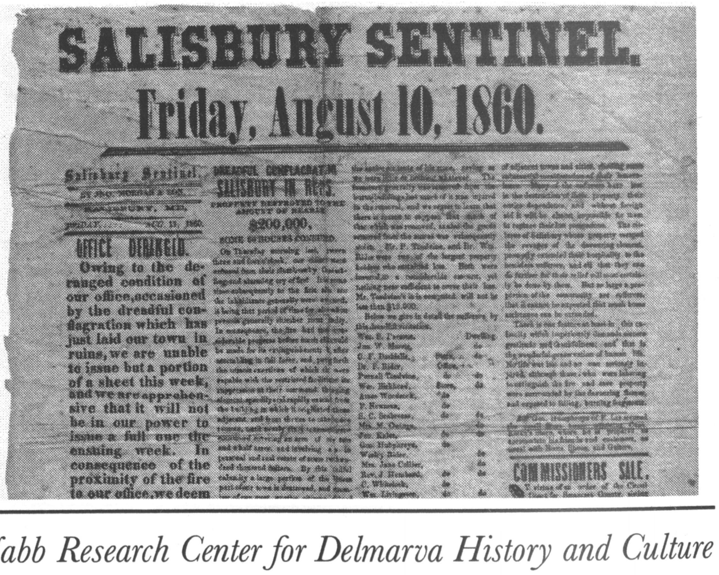
Celebrating Black History Month - Wednesday, February 18, 7 p.m., Linda Duyer talks about her book, *'Round the Pond: Georgetown of Salisbury, Maryland*. Although little remains of the oldest African-American neighborhood in Salisbury, *'Round the Pond* documents some of this community's rich history. Duyer's presentation takes place at the Nabb Center.

Celebrating Woman's History Month - Wednesday, March 25, 7:30 p.m., Wicomico Room of the Guerrieri Center, Dr. Melanie Perreault, chair of the SU Department of History, presents the 2009 Wilcomb Washburn Distinguished Lecture in American History titled, "Servants, Slaves, and Unruly Mistresses: Interpersonal Violence in the Early Chesapeake." Perreault examines how acts of violence both challenged and reinforced community standards in the 17th century Chesapeake.

Celebrating Archaeology Month - Saturday, April 18, 2 p.m., Dr. Elizabeth Ragan, SU associate professor of history, lectures on "Over the Sea to Somerset: 17th Century Trade in a Neglected Corner of the Chesapeake."

Fundraising Event - Saturday, May 2. The fully restored Victorian mansion in Seaford, Delaware, of Governor William Henry Harrison Ross – a highly popular governor from 1851-1855 – is the site for the Nabb Research Center's annual fundraising event. Guests visit a simpler bygone time period and explore a complete Victorian Italianate mansion with slave quarters, barns, sheds and spacious grounds. Tickets will be available in early spring.

For information about these events, please contact the Nabb Research Center at 410-543-6312.



SALISBURY SENTINEL.

Friday, August 10, 1860.

DREADFUL CONFLAGRATION!

SALISBURY IN RUINS.

PROPERTY DESTROYED TO THE AMOUNT OF NEARLY

$200,000,

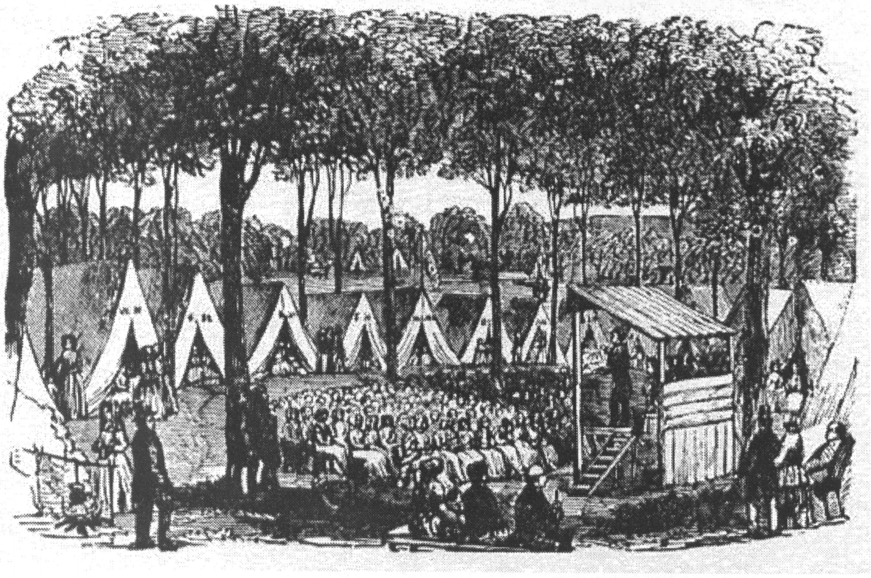
OFFICE DERANGED.

Owing to the deranged condition of our office, occasioned by the dreadful conflagration which has just laid our town in ruins, we are unable to issue but a portion of a sheet this week, and we are apprehensive that it will not be in our power to issue a full one the ensuing week. In consequence of the proximity of the fire to our office, we deem

COMMISSIONERS SALE.

Recollections from the Sea Side: Camp Meetings on Chincoteague Island

by Natasha Jones



The southern part of Worcester County, except for Pocomoke City, has received very little attention. Beyond Carroll Holland, no one but John S. Hill has left extensive writings on Stockton in the olden days and the two were acquainted with one another though born almost 50 years apart. We are indebted to both of them for their verbal legacy to us. When Carroll started the first grade in 1914, John had been principal at Stockton School for about 13 years. John was born in the Snow Hill area to parents of considerable moral stature but of modest means. His father never rose above the tenant-farmer level but had skills as a miller, which enabled him to make a passable living when combined with other work. After a stint as miller at Furnace Town, he moved his family, in 1870, to Stockton to run Rowley's Mill on Pike's Creek, which empties into Chincoteague Bay. Running a small farm was part of the arrangement. Many farmers in the Stockton area, in winter, turned to oystering to supplement their income. This was still the case as late as the 1940s. Though John was not of a robust constitution and not yet 11 years old, he had such a conscientious and precise nature that his father placed him in charge of the mill and the daily farm chores. The Hill family was quite large, and Mr. Hill, with his oldest son Will, then 15, turned to the bay to supplement the income generated by the mill and small farm. In later years, John Hill wrote an autobiography that includes a delightful account of his years working in the water mill. He additionally details many other aspects of life in the 1870s and 80s, and they will be presented in several parts. John's daughter Ellen donated his papers to the Worcester County Library where they are housed in the Pitt Collection.

Entertainment was very hard to come by in the 1870s and '80s. Sandy Hill was near no city and at least 8 miles from Newtown (Pocomoke City) and 3 miles farther from Snow Hill, both of which were still sleepy little towns in the years after the Civil War. Whatever social life there was revolved around church activities and exchanging visits with neighbors and relatives. Occasionally, a church would sponsor a festival, which encouraged attendance by people from other churches and communities nearby. In August, people living in Mattapony, being close to the water, could easily go to pony-penning across the Chincoteague Bay. From earliest times, Chincoteague and other islands, enclosed by the surrounding "moat," were used as open grazing land for livestock even before anyone permanently lived on the islands. Naturally, from time to time, it was necessary to go and round up the cows and horses for claiming and branding, and some to geld and others to send to market. On Assateague Island, sheep-penning, thought to predate pony penning, likely became, even before the Civil War, an annual event attended by large crowds. The Accomac newspaper, *Peninsula Enterprise*, of June 10, 1899, relates: "Assateague — The number of people in attendance at the sheep-penning on Tuesday was the largest in the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and more money was spent than ever before on a similar occasion. Some 80 to 90 gallons of ice cream were consumed, and other things in like proportion. Excursions were run from Franklin City, Sinnickson [Red Hills], Wisharts Point [Horn Town], and Girdletree."

Pony-penning on Chincoteague was an event as early as 1850, but it had become a big affair by 1876 when it was moved to an area just behind the Roxy Theater. In those days, there were separate "pennings," one on Assateague as well as one on Chincoteague. The final pony-penning was held on Assateague in 1920. The following year, a large Assateague landholder would not allow the "saltwater cowboys" to cross his lands to round up their free-ranging ponies. Finally, it was decided that the Assateaguers would join the Chincoteague Pony Penning, which ultimately meant swimming the ponies across the channel, which has been done every year since 1925. Thus, pony-penning in the early days—where there was no auction, no pony swim and no carnival—was a different event from the one we knew as children in the 1940s and '50s. It was, above all, a time for revelry and merrymaking. It was, in addition, an occasion for young people from miles around to congregate and see faces not habitually seen in their home communities. Many a courtship started at such gatherings. (I am indebted to Kirk Mariner's Once Upon an Island for the facts relating to Chincoteague's early history.)

In addition to pony penning, there were camp meetings at Red Hills and on Chincoteague Island in the summer that were part of the spiritual awakening that galvanized America throughout much of the 19th century. The camp meeting, an important aspect of this evangelism and revivalism, was usually held in open air and took place over several days. Because many attendees had to travel some distance in order to be there, it was common to simply camp out at the very spot, thus leading to the name. People were told to cast off their wicked ways and dedicate themselves to God. Very often people would begin shouting in religious fervor, an impulse easier to obey for some when tipsy, and there was often no shortage of liquor at such gatherings. In a recent issue of *Christian History* magazine, Timothy K. Beougher provides some interesting facts about early camp meetings. One of them is that "many people at the early camp meetings displayed unusual physical manifestations: fainting, rolling, laughing, running, singing, dancing, and jerking — a spasmodic twitching of the entire body, where they hopped with head, limbs, and trunk shaking, 'as if they must ... fly asunder.'" No such shenanigans were reported by John Hill the day he went. For the Hill family, who worked hard all year, going to a camp meeting could be the highlight of a long hard summer.

It was necessary to travel by boat to get to Chincoteague at that time, which for the Hill family meant walking the 4 miles from Rowley's Mill to George Island Landing. They caught a boat operated by Captain Jack Pruitt called the *Selena.* There was a girl by the name of Selena Pruitt who is enumerated in the 1880 Census as the 13-year-old daughter of oysterman William C. Pruitt. The only Jack Pruitt in the 1880 Census is actually "John" Pruitt, 38, but he is listed as a farmer. The 1870 Census gives no clue in helping to further identify Captain Jack Pruitt.

Early one August morning, as three members of the Hill family made their way to the landing to catch the boat, they were joined by others making the same trip, notably by three members of the Tarr family: John Tarr and his grown sons Sam and William. The 1920 Census shows oysterman William Tarr, 66, which would have made him about 20 (assuming he is the same William) and thus "grown" in 1873, the year in question. The father, John Tarr, 62, is enumerated in the 1880 Census in Stockton household #151. His wife Leah gives her age as 72. We will return to Leah in another installment. Thirty years earlier, John and Leah were enumerated in the 1850 Census, in household #1369, with four children: Margaret, John, George and Samuel (John was probably John William). Four other Tarr families were in the general area. Samuel H. Tarr is listed as an oysterman in the 1880 Census, with wife Laura A. Shockley whom he had married in late 1873. But in August 1873 Sam was still single. By 1880, however, Sam and Laura had three sons, Lloyd, William and John; 2, 4 and 6, respectively. Sam, who died in 1901, lies buried in Portersville M.E. Church Cemetery, where his son Lloyd was likewise interred in 1933. As far as I know, the name Tarr has entirely disappeared from the Stockton community, where, in the 1880 census, nine Tarr families are enumerated. Now to John Hill's account of his trip to Chincoteague.

Narrative of John S. Hill: "A Trip Across the Bay to Chincoteague" (written c. 1929)

In the summer of the last year [1874] when John was miller-boy, there was held a Camp-meeting on Chincoteague Island, which was diagonally across the bay from John's home, and just across the line in the State of Virginia. A Camp-meeting on the Island always attracted great numbers of people from nearby towns and communities on the mainland. Aside from the religious services, which usually were held under the direction of noted ministers whom many wished to hear, the Camp afforded an opportunity for old friends long separated to meet again. Only one other attraction on the Island ever drew approximately as many people to Chincoteague as those old time Camp-meetings did. That other attraction is the pony-penning still held there each year in August. To reach Chincoteague Island at that time, there was only one way: to sail across the Bay. This was a pleasant experience to many persons who seldom had an opportunity to enjoy a pleasant sail. Now, fifty-five years later, the Island is connected with the mainland by a well-built bridge [built in 1922] and a hard-surfaced State road.

On Camp-meeting occasions of those days, however, there was no lack of means of getting across the Bay to the Island. Dozens of captains of smart lighters, cat-boats, sloops, and schooners were ready and glad then to ferry visitors across to the Island and to bring them back to the mainland when they wished to return. A Camp-meeting was a great occasion to the natives of the Island for it brought many visitors, including friends and relatives to the Islanders whom, otherwise, they might seldom see. Besides, it made more business and brought some outside money to the Island merchants. Teenagers had their own special point of view on camp meetings. One reportedly said: "More souls were made than saved" and "the buggies' creaking sounded like crickets." [added by RFJ]

The Camp consisted of 20 to 25 rough wooden buildings called tents, built in a semi-circle, all facing the preachers' stand and the seats for the congregation. The Camp was located in a grove, as was called, for politeness' sake, the straggly aggregation of stunted and dwarfed trees. "Booths" were erected here and there to give shelter from the hot rays of the August sun to those attending the Camp-meeting. These booths were made by settling into the ground poles seven or eight feet long and having a crotch at the top, then laying across the tops of the crotches long, slim poles. Over these poles were scattered green "king's bushes," as the bay-berry bushes growing abundantly on the marshes nearby were called. The foliage eventually was thick enough to shut out the sunshine from underneath.

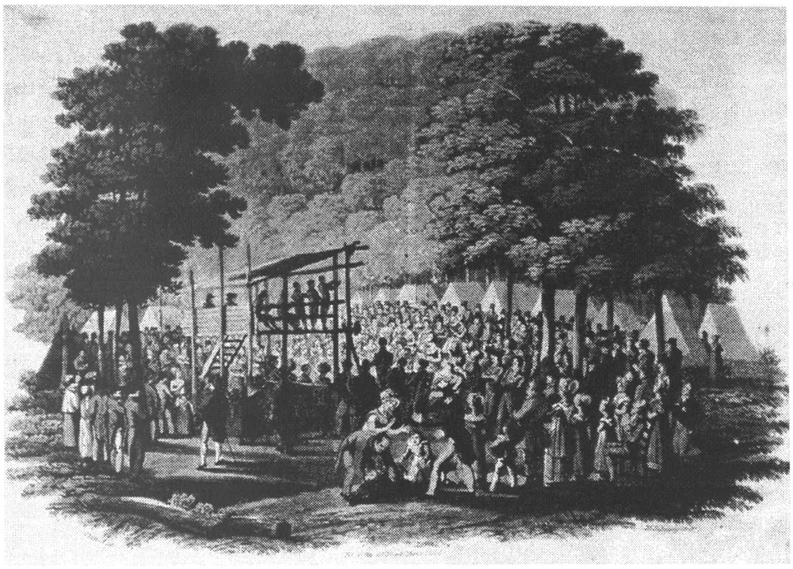
Extensive booths of the kind described covered the rude benches before the preachers' stand, which was covered with a board roof capable of turning away the rain. Thus, while listening to services there, the congregation was sheltered from the sun but not from the rain. Other booths protected the lemonade, ice-cream, and fruit. Still others served as porches in front of the tents under which the inmates of the tents, as well as their guests, might sit and listen to the preaching; or, if there was no service going on, the hostess and her friends might sit there with their sewing or knitting and chat as they worked. For those simple-minded people, a week or two spent thus at Camp served the same purpose that an equal stay at some more fashionable resort now serves their more "aristocratic" descendants.

John's father was going to this Camp on Sunday. He would go early in the morning and return home in the evening. Mrs. Hill did not care to go. John and Will begged to be allowed to go with their father. Mrs. Hill tried to dissuade the boys from going, saying they would probably be happier at home and attending their own Sunday School and they would be sure to get more good out of staying home than going to the Chincoteague Camp. But the boys still wanted to go, and, in the end, they prevailed.

On Sunday morning by six o'clock, Mr. Hill and the boys were walking down the road towards George Island Landing, at which place they were to embark for Chincoteague at seven o'clock. It would require nearly an hour to reach the Landing. They were going early in order to have a full day of enjoyment. On the way, they were joined by Mr. John Tarr and his two grown sons, Sam and William, who were also going to George Island Landing and to the Camp.

"I think the plan is for the *Selena Pruitt* to sail at seven o'clock. Another boat will sail at seven-thirty, another one or two at eight. Others will sail at intervals as the numbers going justify through the day. We shall be at the Landing in time to go on the *Selena*, and Captain Jack Pruitt will pilot us over."

"Then we may expect to have to swim before we get across," said Sam Tarr. "Last Monday, the *Selena* turned over with no more wind than there is this morning. The week before, she keeled over when a little squall struck her—in fact, it's her record to capsize once or twice every week! If she should turn over in the channel, it would be a close call for any of us, but especially for those who cannot swim well. And most of our company will be women and children." John listened with much concern to this conversation; and fear began to grip him hard, for John could not swim.



"Well, if our time to go to heaven has come, we'd just as well go in the line of duty attending religious service," said Mr. Tarr, who was intensely religious at Camp-meetings and revivals, but at other times rarely went to church.

"I am not sure your point is a good one," said Mr. Hill. "If only those persons should attend Chincoteague Camp-meeting today who go solely because their religious duty called them there stronger than elsewhere, I think it probable very few would be there but the Islanders. Most of us would be found in our own church at Sandy Hill, Ticktown [Portersville], or wherever we usually attend church. I confess it is largely the anticipated pleasure of meeting old friends that takes me there today, and I suspect the same reason or a similar one takes most who go there from a distance. Indeed, I am not sure that more harm than good comes from these Camp-meetings. Plenty of liquor will be there, and many drunken persons will be seen. If there are not several fights and more than one person shot at or cut up, I shall be agreeably surprised."

"Yes," answered Mr. Tarr, "and it is not always the fighters who get the worst of the fights. Sometimes, one having nothing to do with the fight receives a stray shot, a knife thrust, or a knock-down." More and more, John was beginning to regret that he had come. Why had he not listened to his mother who always knew best? Why had he not gone to his own Sunday School? Perhaps he could yet turn back. He would try Will and see how he felt about it.

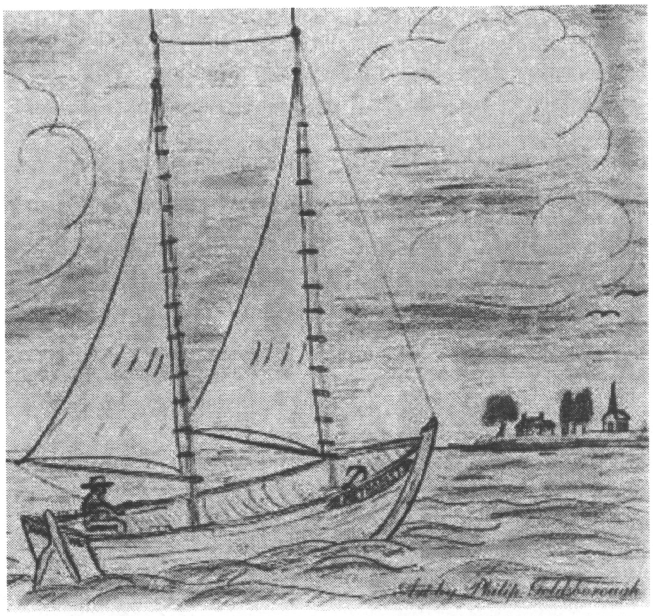
So he gained Will's ear and whispered to him, "Let's go back home. Enough others will be there at the Camp-meeting without us. We can't swim, and I certainly don't want to be drowned or shot." Will was at first surprised, even mystified, as to what John meant, and why he should now be willing to turn back, whereas, at first, he had been so eager to come.

"What's the matter?" he asked John, "that you have changed your mind so completely? You seemed at first to want to come more than I did. Why do you now want to go back home? I am not going to turn back, but am going to Chincoteague if I don't get drowned before I get there!"

"That's it," groaned John in a hoarse whisper, "That's just it! The way the wind is blowing here, it must be blowing harder out in the bay. That boat will be sure to turn over, and neither you nor I can swim. We shall surely be drowned! Let's go back home, Will."

"You can go back if you want. I'm going on! You're just a fraidy-cat, John, and are scared by what you heard those men say. Captain Pruitt is sailing the *Selena Pruitt* this morning. The boat has never turned over with him aboard, but only when some smart-aleck was trying to show off his own cleverness with her." After speaking thus, Will turned away from his brother. John really wished to turn back home, but he did not like to go alone and, especially, be called a fraidy-cat. If Will were going on across, he would go too. It must be admitted that John's trouble thus far was caused more by fear of the physical danger than of the moral wrong involved, although his conscience was also at work and thus increasing his discomfort.

The party finally reached George Island Landing, and there was the *Selena Pruitt* with sails up looking quite trim and safe, as John thought. The boat had recently been overhauled and repainted in clean, pure white, with trimmings in green. She was a wide and commodious lighter, built to navigate the shallow waters of the bay. Surely, she would carry them safely across the bay. Already, there were quite a number of persons aboard the boat when Mr. Hill's party reached the Landing, and others were in sight coming. John was somewhat reassured, and his conscience was a little eased when he saw the superintendent of his Sunday School, his Sunday School teacher, and others of the prominent Sunday School, as well as numerous boys and girls who attended it—all going to Chincoteague on the same boat with him. Some of the other boys and girls were pleased to see Mr. Hill and his two sons, for their parents had urged them to remain at home and attend their own church and Sunday School, saying, "Mr. Hill and his boys will be sure to attend their own church." So, the conscience of those boys and girls were lulled somewhat by seeing that those who had been held up to them as exemplars were literally "in the same boat" as themselves. Alas! How easily do we silence our conscience with the thought that others are doing the same thing—or just as bad.



When all those persons in sight had arrived and gone on board the boat, Captain Pruitt thought he then had as many aboard as the boat could comfortably and safely carry, so he cast off the hawsers that secured the boat to the wharf and got underway. There was a good sailing breeze to start with, which, as John had expected, increased as they got farther away from shore. The bay here was seven or eight miles wide. As their course to the Island was diagonal rather than straight across, and, with the allowances for the crooks and bends in the channel, the distance they had to sail was twelve or fifteen miles. It was a lovely August morning, unusually fresh and cool. To John, who was not accustomed to sailing, the occasion was exhilarating and enjoyable. At least, it was as delightful to him as it could be while he was constantly in fear of hearing some of the company, in doubtful manner, expressing the hope that they would get across alive and safe. The wind was getting really strong, and, at times, the boat was running with her gunwale under water. Spray was flying all over the deck, sprinkling and wetting everyone. At this point, the captain ordered all women and children down into the cabin. John would have much rather remain on deck with his father, for dangers seen do not seem so terrible as those believed to be threatening but which cannot be seen. Whenever the boat rolled more than usual, the women and small children screamed. Thus, for the greater part of the voyage, there was constant fear by many in the cabin that they might not get across safe. And John, especially, was distressed by that fear.

To make matters worse, many on board were seasick, unaccustomed as they were to being tossed about in such a manner. Although John was not so sick as some others, he was far from comfortable. He wanted a drink of water but could not stomach the drinking water they had on the boat. More than once, John deeply regretted that he had not turned back when he first thought of doing so, even though he was called a fraidy-cat. But, at last, they were safely over. Now, he would get a drink of good water and be happy. But again he was doomed to disappointment, for he found the water there little better than that on the boat. At that time, for their supply of water, the Islanders depended upon cisterns and rain barrels, which were filled with water falling on the roofs. But, sometimes, in summer, when it did not rain often enough, these cisterns and barrels ran dry. Then, the people had to bring water in barrels from the mainland. Now, in later years, abundance of pure water is obtained from artesian wells on the mainland and is carried to the Island by pipes running under the bay. After reaching shore, that morning, the boys tried in vain to find some water palatable to drink. There was ice-water and lemonade to sell, but the boys found no place where they could obtain a drink of good water without having to pay for it. Who can afford to spend money on water?

Their father would pay for the boys' meals, and he had given Will and John a quarter of a dollar each to spend that day, which, along with some small change they already had, was, in those days, a liberal allowance to them for spending money. When they reached the Camp, they saw some watermelons which looked good. If they must buy something to slake their thirst, they would buy a melon, not just water. They found the price of a small melon—and it was small—at ten cents. So, John bought the melon this time—Will would buy one in the afternoon, the best they could get for a dime. They invited their father to share with them in their anticipated feast, but he declined saying he did not care for it then. The boys took their melon out under the shade of a small tree, where, in the presence of several little urchins who had followed them, doubtlessly hoping they might be invited to share in a slice, Will flourished his Barlow knife and opened the melon—to find it stark green! The youthful spectators added to the chagrin of Will and John with their mocking taunts and jeers. The brothers had expected to enjoy watermelon, so they determined to have it. Therefore, taking along with them the green melon, they marched back to the watermelon vendor, showed the green melon he had sold them, and asked him to give them a ripe one in its stead. The man informed them they must take the same chance he had taken: the melons had not been guaranteed to him, so how could he guarantee them to others? However, if they wished to try another melon, he would do the best he could in helping them to choose a ripe one. As that was the best bargain they could make with him, they paid for a second melon, which the man said was ripe—if any he had was ripe.

The boys returned to the same tree, though not so jauntily as the first time. They were determined to show their young tormenters, who had followed them again, that those who made fun of them would not get a single bite of their good melon. This time, John flourished the knife and laid open the melon, only to find they had another unripe one. Amid the laughter, jibes, and unkind remarks of their youthful prosecutors, John and Will again visited the seller of green melons, but got from him no more satisfaction than before. They now decided to try the lemonade as it looked good. They each bought a glass of it at five cents a glass and found it very weak in both lemon and sugar. But it was cold and satisfied their thirst. In view of their two wasted dimes, they were actually paying fifteen cents a glass, that is, triple the price.

What need is there to tell more of this Camp-meeting experience to John and Will? The day was full of disagreeable surprises and disappointments to them from its beginning to its close. At last, they reached home after nightfall, dead-tired but neither drowned nor shot.

The Lynching of Garfield King

by George Shivers, Ph.D.

It was mid-spring and farmers in Trappe district in the vicinity of the village of Allen were harvesting strawberries and planting their summer crops. One such farmer was Gamaliel Banks, who employed a young man from across the Wicomico River in White Haven to work for him. The young man's name was Herman Kenney and he was white and 22 years old. His race is significant only in view of what happened on Saturday night, May 21, 1898. Kenney and a group of his friends had visited the store at Twigg's Corner, approximately two miles from the village of Allen at the corner of the Upper Ferry Road and what is now Walnut Tree Road. Also in the store that evening was Garfield King, 18 years old, African-American and a resident of the area. He was accompanied by a group of his friends. Both young men were destined for tragedy that spring evening. Newspaper reports of what happened indicate that King and his friends left the store first. They were followed almost immediately by Kenney and his group. Apparently an argument had begun between the two groups in the store and continued once they were outside. Again, newspaper reports indicate that King pulled a gun and shot Kenney at close range in the abdomen. Kenney died several days later in the hospital in Salisbury. Prior to his death he made a deposition to the State's Attorney Rider in which he declared, as reported in the *Salisbury Advertiser*, that he had remarked to King, "Get out of the way and let us pass." He further stated in his deposition that, as he pulled the trigger, King had declared, "Take that and see if you can carry it." Kenney died on Tuesday evening, May 24. The following day a preliminary hearing was held. Garfield King, who was arrested immediately after the shooting and held in the Wicomico County jail in the courthouse in Salisbury, stated that Kenney had struck him and that he shot Kenney in self-defense. That argument was to no avail and King was held for action by a grand jury to take place in September. The bare facts of the incident leave many questions unanswered. Why was Garfield King, given his character as it has emerged, carrying a weapon? Why would he feel compelled to react in such a violent manner if he did not feel threatened? Was there a prior history of tension between these two young men who must have encountered each other often in such a small community and given that both were farm laborers? Since newspaper reports indicate that the young men were not alone, but with their friends, were these witnesses questioned by the authorities, and if not, why not? These and many other pertinent questions would never be answered because the case never reached the courts. King was already being tried in the court of white public opinion and there were those in the community who were more than ready to act as judge, jury and executioner. Rumors of a planned lynching were rapidly spreading through the community by Tuesday evening.

The *Advertiser* reported on Wednesday that men from the surrounding countryside were seen on the streets of Salisbury and by Wednesday evening the atmosphere was tense. By 11:30 p.m. a mob was gathering in the vicinity of the jail. Again, according to the *Advertiser*:

> With the exception of a citizen here and there, Salisbury had already retired for the night's refreshing slumber at 11:30 o'clock, but those who were still on the streets were soon to be spectators of a sight that no man ever before witnessed within the peaceful, law-loving, law-abiding confines of Wicomico county. For by that hour squads of men unknown to our people, and made all the more unrecognizable by the darkness around, were gathering on the court house green in front of the jail.

The reporter's insistence that those who participated in the lynching which followed were outsiders and unknown would be a motif in all the local reports. In her book *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-first Century*, Sherrilyn A. Ifill refers to the conspiracy of silence that followed all lynchings. Her book focuses primarily on the lynchings of Matthew Williams and George Armwood in the 1930s, though she does allude to the lynching of Garfield King. In commenting on the later lynchings, she writes: "Both in and out of the courtroom witnesses and spectators to the lynchings insisted that the lynchers were strangers who had come from out of town." Contrary to reports in the local newspaper, the *Baltimore Sun* reported on May 28 that "Neither the leader of the lynchers nor any of the party wore masks. They called each other by name and no attempt at secrecy was made."

Street lights in the vicinity of the jail were extinguished. The night was cloudy and a light rain was falling. Before midnight shots were fired and the lynching began. The report in the *Advertiser* states that:

> Meanwhile Sheriff Dashiell had been made aware of the mob's presence, and was preparing to make the best defense of his prisoner that his circumstances would permit. By this time a hundred and fifty men, many of them clad in gum boots, oil coats and tarpaulin hats, had gathered in a quiet, orderly mass at the jail door. They seemed to be patiently awaiting the arrival of somebody, presumably their leader. At 12:35 o'clock their leader was observed to come up from the direction of Division street. His arrival was signalized by a ready hurrah. He lost no time in approaching the Sheriff, who stood inside the jail doors, and demanded of that official the jail keys.

When the Sheriff refused to turn over the keys, several men brought a telephone pole that was "conveniently" near by. Thirty men used it to break through the steel bolt and the mob entered the jail and rushed up the stairs to the cell of Garfield King. They disabled the cell lock with an axe and dragged the terrified King out as they called for a rope. Once the rope was brought, the struggling victim was dragged while members of the mob kicked, clubbed and beat him down the stairs into the jail yard, where he was hanged from a tree. At the first attempt the rope broke and he fell to the ground. When he was hanged the second time, a shot was simultaneously fired into his body, followed by a volley of shots. Finally, the mob approached his body and fired still more shots into it. A witness stated that the entire deed was carried out between 12:35 p.m. and 12:50 p.m.

A few white citizens had made an attempt to quiet the mob and prevent the lynching, according to the newspaper. It reported that a Mr. E. Stanley Toadvine accompanied by other citizens of the town "pleaded with the mob to return the prisoner to the custody of the Sheriff." The leader of the mob pushed aside all such pleas.

After the lynching, as the mob was withdrawing, a Judge Holland appeared on the scene, awakened by the shooting and the shouts. He had King's remains taken down from the tree and placed in the nearby engine house of the local fire department. The *Advertiser* reported that hundreds of citizens visited the spot on Thursday morning, viewed the "bloody, disfigured remains of a slightly built, intelligent faced mulatto youth about 18 years old ... The shots of the mob had cut holes in his chest and face and blown away that part of his shirt which covered the upper part of his body." The body was later interred in a Salisbury cemetery. No mention is made of Garfield King's family.

Thus occurred the first, but sadly not the last, lynching that has marred the history of Wicomico County. In what follows, I will discuss the atmosphere in the community during that period at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, and then, to the extent that I am able, based on the available documents, consider the reactions of both the white and black communities to the lynching. First, I think, it is important to consider what we know about the two principal actors in the initial tragedy, Herman Kenney and Garfield King. It will come as no surprise that contemporary reports tell us more about the former than the latter. In fact, I have perused microfilmed pages of the *Advertiser* from the 1870s up to 1918 and found virtually no news of the Black community. What one does find, especially in 1903 are triumphant reports of passage of Jim Crow laws by the Maryland legislature, as well as local efforts in Princess Anne to deprive Blacks of the right to vote. Were it not for those reports, based on what can be found in the local newspaper one might think that there was no African-American community in Wicomico County at the time.

What we learn about Herman Kenney is, as already stated, that he was from White Haven on the Wicomico River, the son of Edward Kenney, and that he was at the time employed on the farm of Gamaliel Banks in Trappe district. The *Advertiser* on May 28 reported that he was engaged to a young woman of that district, and the *Baltimore Sun* went further in writing that his fiancée's name was Annie Bond and that they planned to wed in a few weeks. The *Advertiser* describes him as "a quiet, industrious young man, much esteemed in the community," and goes on to say that "His parents and brothers and sisters are almost distracted with grief over his sad and untimely death," thus both stating the obvious and clearly tugging at the emotions of white readers.

All that we learn from the local newspaper about Garfield King is that he was 18 years old, a native of Trappe district and a graduate of the Princess Anne Colored Academy (the forerunner of the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore). The Academy was founded in 1886 by the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the entirely African-American conference of that denomination on the Peninsula. It was originally named the Delaware Academy for Negroes. When in 1890 it began to receive land grant federal funds, it was renamed Princess Anne Academy. It was primarily a secondary school that offered industrial, agricultural and practical arts courses at the time that Garfield King attended. There is nothing in the contemporary reports regarding Garfield King's livelihood nor his family. I have been able to gather tidbits of information from other sources, but to make that information more meaningful, I will need to incorporate it into a broader discussion of the community in which King grew up.

As noted earlier, Twigg's Corner was situated less than two miles from the Upper Ferry and at the edge of the African-American community of Allen along the South Upper Ferry Road. This Black community had been created by freed slaves during the late 1830s and 1840s, making it certainly one of the oldest free black communities in the area. Roger Dutton, a free black man, bought land in the area on January 12, 1839, from its white owners. He added 116 acres to the original purchase in 1840 and purchased still more land (22 ½ acres) in 1844. Dutton's name appears in the list of "Free Coloured People of Somerset County" in 1832. By 1840 other free African-Americans had joined Mr. Dutton in Allen (until 1883 known as Upper Trappe), including Mary Polk, Jane Peters, John Waters, Rufus Fields, Anne Dove, Levin Taylor and Jane Elzey. Several men from the community fought for the Union during the Civil War, including a man by the name of Arthur King, about whom more later. Just prior to the end of the war, in 1864, the African-American community joined together to establish their own church, Friendship Methodist Episcopal Church, which was part of the Delaware Conference of that denomination.

Determining Garfield King's family connections has proven difficult. If he was indeed 18 in 1898, he would have been born in 1880, but since his name does not appear with any King family in the area in the 1880 federal census, perhaps we can assume that he was born after the census taker's visit or that his family was living elsewhere. Unfortunately the 1890 federal census data were lost and Garfield King was murdered before the 1900 census. The following members of the King family appear in the federal census data of 1900 in Trappe District of Wicomico County:

> Isaac King (born c. 1852) and his wife Martha (born c. 1857) had the following children: William H. (1876), Isaac W. (1880), Tobey E. (1883), Hurley A. (1885), Sera M. (1886), and Levin T. (1888).

Isaac and Martha King would have been likely candidates as Garfield's parents, however, the fact their son Isaac was born in 1880 weighs against this possibility, though it does not eliminate it. Arthur and Leah King also appear in the 1900 census data, living in the vicinity of Twigg's Corner. Their children were Henrietta, born in 1884, and Earnest, born in 1887. It may well be that there had been an older son, Garfield, born in 1880, but that cannot be ascertained. I can only attest to the fact that there were members of the King family living in the vicinity of Twigg's Corner and Allen at the time Garfield King was lynched and that their descendants remain in the community to this day.

As to the name "Twigg's Corner" itself, I have found no one living today who knows the origin of the name. My assumption is, however, that it was named for members of the Twigg family who lived there during the 19th century. Again, the federal census in 1900 listed John A. Twigg (born c. 1850) and his wife Mary (born about 1861). John and Mary had nine children born between 1880 and 1898, and they lived near several African-American households. Unfortunately Mr. Twigg's profession is illegible, so I don't know whether he himself was a storekeeper.

In 1951 Ruth Jones Wilkins, a resident of Virginia, whose parents were born and raised in Allen, wrote letters to several elderly members or former members of the Allen community who grew up in the last two decades of the 19th century. She asked them to comment on a number of specific aspects of life during that time period or events that occurred then. Her stated purpose was to write a history of the village. The Allen Historical Society acquired copies both of her letter and of the responses that she received thanks to a gift from Mrs. Bettie Sue Payne Malone. There is no indication that Mrs. Wilkin's book project was ever carried through to fruition, but the letters she received are fascinating documents on aspects of village life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Included in the list of subjects on which she solicited comments was the lynching of Garfield King. Only two respondents made an allusion to that tragic event. Robert Huey, a resident of Chestertown, MD, in 1951, wrote the following in a letter dated August 22: "Reference has been made to the lynching of Garfield King. While I read of this incident quite a number of years ago, I did not then, nor do I now, know of the details. I recall, however, going out to the little farm owned by Uncle Price, and following in the furrow as Garfield plowed around the field. Garfield was always good to me, and never did I see him act unkindly." The uncle to whom Mr. Huey alluded was Mr. Levin B. "Squire" Price, a well-known and much-loved citizen of Allen, who taught an entire generation of village children in the one-room schoolhouse. Mr. Huey's letter echoes the statement of a reporter who wrote: "The lynched man was an educated negro who graduated at the Colored Academy at Princess Anne, and has always been well thought of by his neighbors." A second respondent to Mrs. Wilkins, Percy Allen wrote from his home in Bethesda, MD: "In looking over your list of topics, I would very definitely suggest that no mention be made of the Garfield King lynching. It was too horrible, and none of those involved were residents of Allen. Am sure you will have enough pleasant things to write about." Mr. Allen, writing decades after the event, echoes the statements by local citizens in 1898 to the effect that the perpetrators of the lynching were outsiders.

Mr. Allen may well have been correct in his belief that no residents of the village of Allen were directly involved in the lynching. We will probably never know. There is, however, strong evidence both of close cooperation between Allen's white and black populations and of very blatant racist attitudes among some white citizens in the village.

Evidence of the latter is found in two of the letters sent to Ruth Jones Wilkins. Both respondents were discussing a practice of the village schoolmaster (the aforementioned Levin B. Price). On Fridays, Mr. Price would have some of his students recite poems. Judging from the texts given in the letters, these were not Shakespeare's sonnets! Mr. Will Messick writes: "Mr. Elias Nichols and Alberta were the two main speakers on Friday afternoon. I remember a speech by Mr. Fitzgerald. After stammering and shaking his head, he got started off:

Sammy had a little dog
That never told a story.
Barked up a tree
There's a coon surely.
Hands on his gun.
Fingers on the trigger,
Slam bang went the gun
and down came a nigger."

Mr. Will Messick's brother, Fred Messick, a retired college professor at the time of writing, also responded to Ruth Jones Wilkin's request. In his response we find a variation on the same piece of racist doggerel. Fred Messick tells us that the practice of reciting poetry was voluntary and the implication is that the children chose their own material. His recollection of this particular Friday is as follows: "The prize speech was one given by Ira Waller. Never enunciating too well at best … (he) ambled forward, made his formal bow and in barely understandable lingo delivered himself of the following classic:

Sammy had a gun.
The gun had a trigger.
Slam bang went the gun.
And down came a nigger.

Another hurried bow and Ira retired amid considerable amusement and applause." This coincidence in the texts chosen on two different occasions suggests that these "Sammy" rhymes with their racist content must have been well known to village children in the 1880s and 1890s, when the Messick brothers attended school there. They also tell us that the village schoolmaster must have at least tolerated, if he did not encourage such doggerel.

Whether or not the residents of Allen were involved in the lynching in Salisbury, once it had occurred the rumor mill went into overdrive and fear spread rapidly through the community. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that "Several went from the neighborhood where Garfield King lived arrived in Salisbury this afternoon and visited all the stores which sell revolvers and ammunition and purchased a good lot. They brought the report that the negroes in the district were massing and had sent out threats against the whites ... The whites say they will quell any disturbance in their district, even to the extent of exterminating the blacks." The reporter did not indicate in that report exactly whom they were quoting and where that person or persons resided. An article the next day, however, did refer specifically to a resident of the village of Allen, in fact to a member of the family for whom the village had been renamed in 1883:

> Raymond Allen, a young resident of Allen, where Kenny was shot, arrived in Salisbury tonight in quest of guns, pistols and ammunition. He says the residents of Allen are much concerned over a report received there today that the negroes of Polk's Road, a negro settlement near there, were going to burn the town tonight. He says every home in Allen is under guard of several white men armed with shotguns and pistols, and that the place is practically under martial law.

The article went on to state that "From his account the situation at Allen and Siloam must be rather a desperate one, and serious trouble may come if the colored people persist in their alleged threats." Interestingly, Raymond Allen would make an appearance in the columns of the *Salisbury Advertiser* a few years later and in a context which is appropriate to include here. Mr. Allen was the author of an article which appeared under the headline "Notes from Allen." The subtitle was "Political Situation Humorously Depicted by a Reporter from That Town. Sentiment for White Man's Party Increasing." The article purports to report on a speech given to a local gathering of men in the village of Allen by a certain William Samuel Williams. Mr. Williams is depicted as a local yokel, who, in colorful dialect, expresses a call to action to local Democrats while expressing his contempt for the Republican Party. The article could not be more racist, as the following statement from the supposed Mr.

Williams' speech demonstrates:

> Now my friends, don't ye think it's time we're a bucklin' on the armor an' goin' out to meet the inimy? Don't ye think the nigger is an issue in this here campaign? Shore ye do. What d'ye think of the Republican State Convention, held in Baltimore, tether week? Half of the crowd was niggers an tother half Republicans an' the first half bossed the job. One big black feller was Secretary. Nice weren't it? One nigger struck a white feller because the white feller wouldn't drink with him an' the only thing I'm sorry for is the whold dawggone lot of niggers didn't pitch in an' kerwallop ever last one of the white delegates. They had no business bein' in convention with 'em. Still they'll tell ye that the nigger ain't an issue. It looks to me that the niggers has the bossin' of the Republican Party an' air about to make the white man a issue, specially their white men. They doesn't bother ours.

It should be noted that in looking over the local newspaper's headlines leading up to the 1904 elections, it becomes evident that anti-black sentiment in Wicomico County and in Maryland in general was strong. For example a headline in the October 24 edition of the Advertiser declared "The Democratic Party, the Hope of Good White Government." Maryland's passage of Jim Crow legislation was also making headlines locally. On November 14, 1903, a headline read "A Jim Crow Law Has Excellent Show of Being Passed at 1904 Session of Legislature in Maryland. Eastern Shore Strongly in Favor of It." The article beneath the headline reported enactment of legislation to limit black suffrage and to provide separate compartments for blacks and whites on steamboats, railroads and streetcars. The Jim Crow legislation was passed the following spring as reported in the *Advertiser*. A year later, on March 25, 1905, the *Advertiser* reported that the Maryland Court of Appeals had upheld the Jim Crow law. There can be no question, then, that in the period immediately before and after the Garfield King lynching there were increasingly vehement expressions of racism in the white community in Wicomico County, directed at African-Americans.

Just as there is no evidence that reporters made any effort to learn more about Garfield King and his family, there is little evidence that reporters sought out the views of the African-American citizens of Allen or Polk's Road. We can certainly suppose that since it had been a member of their community who had been lynched without any concern for either justice or mercy, they would have their own reasons to be afraid. The reporter says only that "The colored residents are sullen and angry, but the counsel of the wiser heads among them will prevail to avert any trouble." Apparently there was no violent reaction to the lynching, since no such event is reported subsequently.

An article also published on May 28 gives further, strong evidence of the belligerent mood of some white citizens in the community. The article is titled "A Defiant Letter" and reports that a letter was sent to a Salisbury newspaper editor from the village of Whayland. The writer of the letter states his belief that a detective had been in the community searching for participants in the lynching. He also makes it clear that the African-Americans were not the only ones planning violence (if indeed they were). He writes:

> While I was not in it, there are probably some people who I know that did have something to do with it. We are determined to defend our citizens, who did their duty in avenging the cold-blooded murder of one of our best young men. Notice has been sent to our men to assemble Saturday to consult over the matter, and if the stranger stays here we will make it not for him. We are law-abiding citizens, but this is a white man's county, and we propose to see that white men are not brutally murdered in cold blood by negroes. You can say that the lynchers will never be taken alive. Should there be a traitor among the crowd who "squeal," he must take the consequences.

This article is the closest thing to a confession that we have from a likely participant in the lynching. It certainly belies the assertion that no locals were involved in the event. It also further reflects the blatant racism that was current among members of the white community.

An article in the *Baltimore Weekly Sun* reflects further on the identity of the members of the lynch mob: "Most of the men were fishermen from along the Wicomico River and many of them were leading citizens of their districts." He notes (as cited earlier) that no member of the mob wore a mask and that they often called each other by name. Despite the fact that no effort was made by the members of the lynch mob to hide their identities, no participant was ever identified or brought to justice. In writing of the lynching of Matthew Williams, which took place in Salisbury in 1931, Sherrilyn A. Ifill comments that "whites closed ranks to protect their neighbors and acquaintances from prosecution. More than one hundred witnesses were called before the grand jury investigating the Williams lynching, yet none could identify members of the lynch mob."

Contemporary reports indicated that some in the white community and, of course, virtually all in the black community were distressed and outraged by the act of vigilantism and mob violence that deprived Garfield King of life and justice. The reporter for the *Salisbury Advertiser* condemned the act in no uncertain terms, writing:

> How can a citizen who has sworn his allegiance to the government to support the constitution, deliberately join in a procession to do violence to the law and to his own oath? ... Such an act means that we have no confidence in our civil government... Is there a lack of confidence in our government? If so the proper method for the officers of the law to pursue to establish confidence is to prove this matter and seek out the offenders.

Judge Holland also expressed his outrage during an interview with a reporter, though it must be noted that his concern stems not only from the crime against civil law but also from its impact on the reputation of the community: "It was a shocking, and to me, very unexpected crime. It is a burning shame that the fair fame of this community should be darkened and disgraced." Concern spread to other communities on the Eastern Shore, as a later article testifies. The writer declares:

> The recent lynching at Salisbury is denounced in Easton by unanimous public sentiment. It is considered an Eastern Shore disgrace ... Salisbury has boasted of being the largest town on the Eastern Shore, the most

> businesslike, the most thrifty, but it is evidently not big enough to prevent such murderous lawlessness. There was never a lynching in Talbot County, although crimes provocative of mob law have been committed.

Ironically, two decades later a lynching would be narrowly averted in Talbot County. It involved an African-American man, Isaiah Fountain, accused of raping a white woman.

On Tuesday evening of the week following the lynching of Garfield King, leaders of the Black community in Salisbury called a meeting, held at John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church. Solomon T. Huston was chosen as chairman of the meeting and several other men spoke. According to a newspaper report of the meeting, "All the speakers condemned the lynching, but gave good advise (sic) to their people, and counselled (sic) them to be law-abiding and law-fearing. The young men of the race were admonished to sell their pistols and razors and put the money in useful literature."

At the same meeting a committee was appointed to urge Governor Lowndes to offer a reward of $1,000 for the apprehension of the lynchers. The meeting also adopted a resolution declaring their loyalty and love of the community, their belief in the importance of maintaining law and order, and in the right of trial by jury. The resolution also demanded that public officials give an explanation for the recent violent action and denounced as "inhumane, retrograding and barbarous the preserving of pieces of the rope with which the victim was lynched." It went on to state that "in the light of civilization we condemn every manifestation of favor to the crime and are astonished that some of the citizens of this town and county should be identified with the preservation of these mementoes." The language of this resolution is interesting in that it never accuses any member of the local white community of actually participating in the lynching, but seems rather to focus its condemnation on those who took souvenirs of the occasion. Nonetheless, it is a strong reaction on the part of the community, condemning the action while upholding firmly their belief in the law. It also cautiously advises members of the community against acts of violent revenge, since clearly the black community would have suffered most from such action.

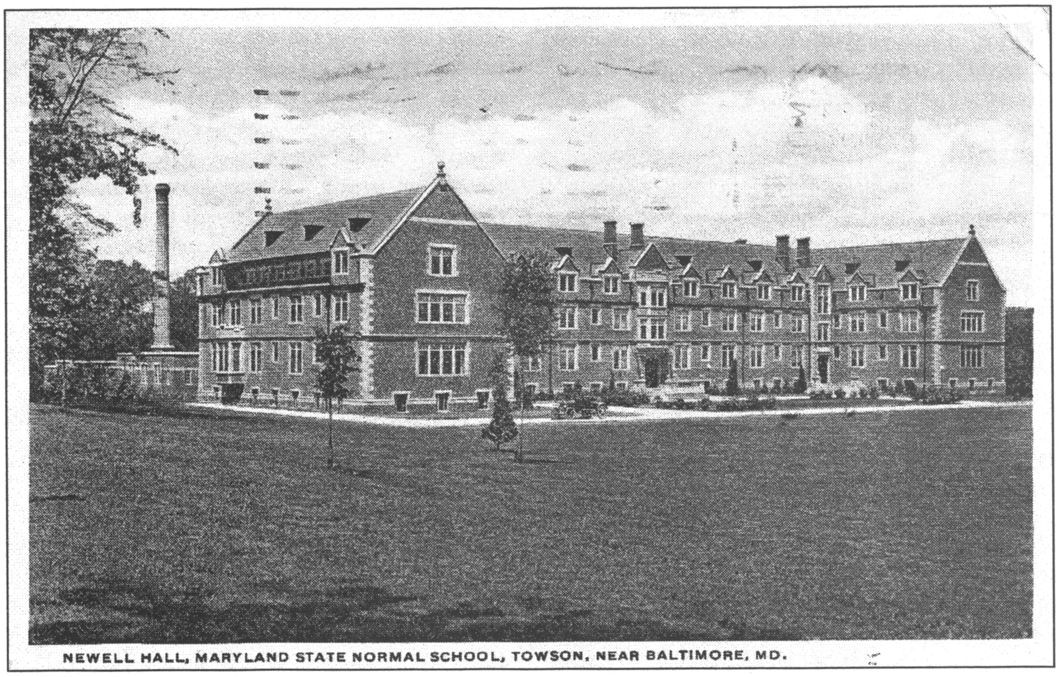
Why research and write about a tragic and senseless event which was buried along with Garfield King himself for so long? Clearly there is no one alive today in Allen who has personal experience of the lynching. This writer was born in the village of Allen and has spent much of his life there, yet I never heard any reference to the event from members of either the Black or the White community. I recently spoke with one of the oldest members of the Black community, born in 1911, but she had no recollection of Garfield King or his lynching. Apparently no one in the generation before her had alluded to it in her hearing. The same can be said of my parents, grandparents and others of their contemporaries with whom I came in contact as I grew up. This silence is not surprising. As Sherrilyn Ifill points out in her analysis of lynchings on the Eastern Shore, there are many reasons for Whites to remain silent: fear of consequences, guilt, denial, or insistence that it was all in the past and no longer significant. Ifill notes that Blacks too may resist talking about incidents of racial violence: "They may fear that such a conversation will be racially polarizing, undermining progress painstakingly made over decades, giving whites a reason to fear that blacks might seek retaliation or reparation of some kind for past injustices committed by whites." Yet Ifill believes strongly that this inter-racial conversation needs to take place. Such a dialogue, she says would help White citizens manage their conflicted feelings about racial violence in their communities; it would help Blacks deal with the deeply ingrained fear that is often passed from generation to generation, even to those who never witnessed a lynching. Ifill also believes that such a dialogue would "provide an opportunity to explore and examine the rich and diverse history of blacks' struggle for advancement on the Shore." Finally, she suggests that the interchange would contribute strongly to racial reconciliation. Theologian James H. Cone presents a similar thesis in his lecture "The Cross and the Lynching Tree." It was delivered at Harvard Divinity School on October 19, 2006, and ended with these words: "If America has the courage to confront the great sin and ongoing legacy of white supremacy, with repentance and reparation, there is hope beyond the tragedy—hope for whites, blacks, and all humankind—hope beyond the lynching tree."

I hope that this article may open in our community the kind of dialogue championed by Sherrilyn Ifill. I believe strongly that Allen is a much different community in 2008 than it was in 1898, but some of the old barriers of race and color remain. Blacks and Whites still attend separate Methodist churches, but from time to time we worship together and those occasions have proven both moving and fruitful in terms of community relations and friendships. The local Historical Society, established in 1995, has made a strong effort to break through the racial barriers by researching and publishing local Black history along with White history, including investigating the history of slavery in our community and by recruiting black members. The annual Fourth of July celebration sponsored by the Lions Club has been a fully integrated event for several years. Residential areas are slowly integrating and interpersonal relations across racial barriers are occurring freely in the community. We have come a long way in one local community. Sadly there are signs that nationally the same cannot be said. Even as I researched this article in the summer and fall of 2007, the shadow of the lynching rope was once again looming over our country in the south in Louisiana and in the north at Columbia University in New York. Clearly racism is not dead, and while in the cases alluded to above the nooses were empty, their power to strike fear and anger into the hearts of black citizens was very much in evidence. Furthermore, we see evidence of increasing prejudice and discrimination across the country now directed at immigrants, particularly Hispanic immigrants. I hope that this effort to research and write about the brutal lynching of one of our citizens over a century ago, will contribute to an ongoing dialogue among all the members of the community directed at the elimination of all lingering vestiges of racism and at insuring that no such act of violence and lawlessness directed at any group will ever occur again.

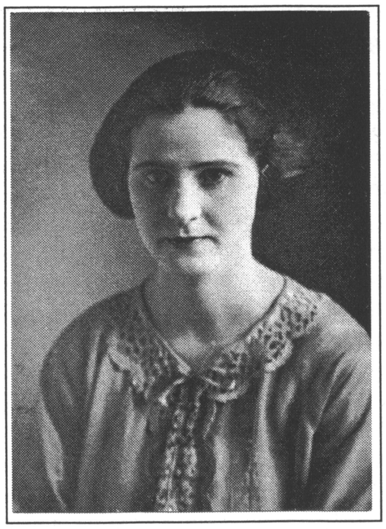
Please Note: Bibliographical information and author's notes for this article are available from the Nabb Center.

A Teacher's Heart: Lula's Story

by Sue Ellen Robinson



NEWELL HALL, MARYLAND STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, TOWSON, NEAR BALTIMORE, MD.



Lula Belle Freeny Brumbly

I spent a lot of time while I was attending graduate school thinking about the attributes of a good teacher. Although I was surrounded by excellent role models, the teacher who had guided my entire life stood at the forefront. That teacher was my grandmother, Lula Belle Freeny Brumbley, and this is her story.

Born at the turn of the century, Lula's life was far from ordinary in many ways. She was born on July 3, 1901, to Ernest Gardner Freeny and Susan Adeline White Freeny in the small town of Quantico, Maryland. She grew up on Athol Road with her younger brother Fred in close proximity to her extended family. My great-grandmother doted over her tiny first-born child. The Freenys were a close family in the most traditional ways, George Davis Freeny and his wife Sarah Jane Waller Freeny had given each of their four sons property near their own farm extending for miles down each side of the road. The only exception was the small piece of land donated to the Almshouse. That coincidence always bothered me because when my great grandparent's house burned down in 1913 my grandmother told me they stayed at the Almshouse with the caretakers while her "papa" rebuilt their home. I never asked her why she did not stay with relatives, but looking back I have to wonder why they ended up at the Almshouse. My grandmother remembered how scared she was to live there among strangers. At night she would hear crying coming from all directions. That event must have left its mark on her entire family because I found an entry in my great grandmother's bible that simply said, "Our house was burned down February 10, 1913." That simple statement stood out on the inside front cover for all to see when they opened her bible.

Grandmom and I spent many hours talking about her childhood, her family and her opportunities for education. She found that opportunity at Western Maryland College. Founded shortly after the Civil War ended, the school took its creed from the principles our country struggled to define and offered entrance to all, regardless of race, religion, color, gender, or national or ethnic origin. The fact that it became the first coed college south of the Mason-Dixon Line and one of the first in the nation could be regarded as ground breaking for it's time.

In 1916 my grandmother's world began to expand. She was fortunate enough to attend prep school at Western Maryland College. After completing prep school she was accepted to the college on June 8, 1917, just one month short of her 16th birthday. Many things at Western Maryland would change over the years. My grandmother did not live to see the name change for the college that she remembered so fondly. Western Maryland College became McDaniel College in 2002. While we never discussed why she ended up at Western Maryland, I always assumed it was because of the early Methodist ties to the college and my family's strong Methodist beliefs. Although the college no longer holds that strong religious affiliation it existed until the early 1970s.

Her journey to school was an education in itself. She would leave the Shore on a steamboat and sail to Baltimore. Once in Baltimore she would travel by train to Westminster on the Western Maryland Railroad. One of my prized possessions is the steamer trunk she used to travel back and forth to college.

From time to time I pull out my grandmother's Memory and Fellowship Book from school. According to her entries in that book she was "hazed" on October 26, 1917. Her memory book is filled with names and quotes from young women and men from all over Maryland and the East Coast of the United States. What an experience that must have been for a young girl from the Eastern Shore who led a sheltered life provided by her parents, extended family and church. At school, academic studies came first, but she also would attend such functions as music recitals, plays and debates while developing a social circle of friends and schoolmates. Like most young girls she collected the programs and faithfully pasted them in her scrapbook. Also of interest to her were her YWCA and Red Cross memberships. Included among the precious scraps of paper is an opera flyer for a matinee performance of Mary Pickford in the *Eternal Girl.* How I wish I had asked her about that experience. Lula Bella would spend two years preparing to be a teacher including one summer spent at Towson Normal School (now Towson University). Reading through her memory book is like taking a trip back in time. During her two years at Western Maryland she only returned home for Christmas and summer breaks. She graduated from Western Maryland College in 1919 becoming the first college graduate in her family.

In January of 1919, Lula Belle left her parents home in Quantico in her new Model-T Ford and drove to Porter Mill School to take her first and only teaching job. At Porter Mill she taught first-sixth grades in one room. The school was located in the woods near Hebron just off of Rewastico Road. There she would spend the next three years teaching children who were in some cases taller and almost as old as she was. She recalled to me once that the older boys in particular could be a challenge to her authority if she let them since some of them spent more than the usual time in one grade due to their farming responsibilities and lack of academic discipline.

Passed down to me by my grandmother was a book published by Wicomico County Retired Teachers Association in 1977. The book is titled *Recollections: Wicomico's One Room Schools.* She proudly shared the part about Porter Mill School with me. The school was described as the "newer version of a building" by Virginia Travers Layfield the teacher who followed my grandmother at Porter Mill. According to Ms. Layfield, in addition to the classroom, the school itself had a cloakroom and a back room where the woodstove was kept to provide warmth during the cold winter months. At Porter Mill School the older boys helped with the chores related to the woodstove and my grandmother, only a girl of 18 at that time, refined the teaching skills she would take with her the rest of her life. When asked, she said her position was not remarkable in any way but quite enjoyable and fulfilling. She taught at Porter Mill School from January 1920 to May 1924. On July 30, 1924, she married my grandfather, Louis Edward Brumbley of West Post Office. While life would change in many ways after her marriage, she never lost her teacher's heart. She became a mother of five children and helped my grandfather run the farm he loved near Delmar. There they would survive the Great Depression and the many trials life would give them over the next 50 years with sheer determination and hard work.

As a student of history I find her life remarkable against the backdrop of unprecedented cultural and technological advancements. Timely mass communication had been made much easier with large-scale newspaper syndicates, the telephone, telegraph and radio. Everyday Americans could not get enough news from these sources and radio was their link to the world whether they lived in New York City or Salisbury, Maryland. The country was trying to deal with the legacy of World War I and abundant social changes. It was a time of prosperity for the nation, intellectual disillusionment and a time of calm before the economic upheaval of the late '20s.

At my grandmother's 80th birthday celebration my mother said:

> My grandmother told me mom was a puny little thing, weighing somewhere in the neighborhood of four pounds. Her childhood was beset with serious illnesses, but the "puny" little thing survived them all. The little girl grew up to become a teacher, a profession she was to abandon when she married, or at least so my mother thought. But looking back I remember tales of her teaching her adoring children. As we grew, she resumed her role of teacher, this time not in the classroom, but around the dining room table where there was an empty chair between each student. She moved from child to child around the table offering her guidance and wisdom to each sibling stumbling over some homework problem. I'll bet she can still translate *Caesar* from Latin to English. As we grew from childhood to adulthood her understanding grew with our needs, her arms always outstretched when the world seemed too much for us.

I have my own memories of the teacher who was my grandmother. I was the first and only grandchild for 13 years. Although 11 more grandchildren would follow I formed a bond with my grandmother that never diminished with time. At an early age she taught me love of family, love of country, love of education and perhaps most important of all, unconditional love. She challenged me when I did not know I was being challenged. She sparked my love of genealogy over 30 years ago as she spent hours relaying the 200 years of family history she had saved among old documents and Bibles. As my research skills improved she was thrilled over each new find. She kindled a love of family history in me all the while challenging me to continue on and learn more. Lula was good at bringing the strengths out in all of us and then reminding us of them just so we did not waste them. She worked her magic on the biggest decision of my life when she encouraged me to go back to college at 35. She became my biggest cheerleader as I ventured timidly back in to academics. In undergraduate school I found a deep love for the study of American history. Years later I was finally fortunate enough to apply and be accepted in a graduate program to study history for the sheer joy of it. By the time I graduated in 2007 my grandmother had long since passed away, but I still felt like I had kept a promise to her and to myself that I had made years ago when I told her about my desire to study history. Her answer was, "You can do anything you put your mind to and don't you forget it." Over the years I have found strength in my deep ties to the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Thanks to my grandmother I now know that my family history goes back to the early 1600s when my first ancestor migrated from the Eastern Shore of Virginia. That heritage is the legacy she left me. My education has not been a traditional one but I have enjoyed every minute of it thanks to the inspiration of a "teacher's heart."

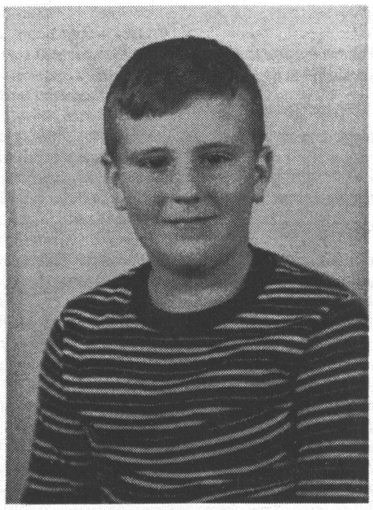
Growing Up Eastern Shore

by Chris Kidd

With childhood comes innocence, imagination, curiosity and wonder. Unfortunately for many children of today's world, their surroundings do not feature the same characteristics that make youth so precious. Technology, mass production and progress left the world in a fascinatingly convenient time, but at the loss of much of the magic that used to be found in abundance within children's imagination. Add crime to the equation and the world is far from the innocence that once existed.

A wide variety of stories, found amongst the Nabb Research Center's collection, detail life on the Eastern Shore before the Chesapeake Bay Bridge was opened and put an end to the "Splendid Isolation" as detailed by Thomas D. Wimbrow. From entertaining childhood anecdotes to detailed life as a child during World War II, the personal accounts available at the Nabb Research Center give heartfelt, sometimes humorous, insight into a world that has all but disappeared.

> There were not the many cars that everyone has today … Boys who lived in Pittsville hitchhiked their way to Salisbury. Boys with cars who were going to Salisbury for dates would always pick up people. Truck drivers and any family with any seat room would pick up people too. You went to Salisbury early so that you could be finished with whatever you planned to do so that you were at the overhead railroad bridge early enough to catch the cars that were returning to Pittsville. You took a ride even if the car was not going all the way to Pittsville … It seems strange because of today's view of hitch hikers, but then any set of headlights meant a ride! ... You never refused a ride, even if it were winter and you had to ride in the back of a pickup truck. You never could tell how long it might be until the next vehicle would come along. It was a good excuse to get a warm loving send off from a date in the winter because it was a long cold walk home!



"Tommy" Wimbrow
1947/1948 – Grade Three
Whaleyville School Picture

In this excerpt from *Memories* by Harry Lee Palmer, the simple gesture of offering a stranger a ride demonstrates a time of innocence in the world. The Eastern Shore of years passed was a place with less worry and paranoia than that of the Eastern Shore today. Hitchhiking used to be a typical practice that has now nearly ceased to exist.

An amusing anecdote from Palmer comes when he mentions his dentist: "'Doc Mason was a character. He worked when he felt like it. He was rumored to be the best poker player in the area. He sure was the best dentist since he was the only one." This is certainly a situation that would not yield the same results in today's competitive world.

Of particular interest in Palmer's *Memories* is the section titled "Bootlegging: The Manufacture of Illegal Alcohol in the Berlin Area."

> Berlin became a major supplier of whiskey to Philadelphia. There were many small bootleggers but the king pin was Charlie Brown. Charlie had whiskey stills located all over the county which were run by hired help who worked for wages. Charlie furnished the still, the grain, sugar bottles, strainers and barrels …When the Internal Revenue found an operating still, they destroyed the barrels, jugs, and bottles. The Worcester County sheriff was careful not to damage the still. He carried them to Snow Hill and Charlie picked them up and they were back in operation within a week at a new location … Seldom was a man or men caught at the site. The sheriff usually had time to notify Charlie … Illegal whiskey was highly profitable and several people tried to muscle in on Charlie's business. One local character who tried had the side room and porch of his house blown off with dynamite. No one was ever identified in the incident.

Splendid Isolation by Thomas D. Wimbrow is another source for insightful stories that offer a great window into the past of the Eastern Shore. In detailing his childhood, Wimbrow paints a picture for the reader of school yards, small town shops and sand pits, as well as what it was like to be a little boy during World War II.

> I was not quite two and one-half years old when the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred … my first memories are of the years that encompassed World War II. These memories were enlarged as time went on by the stories my father often shared with me. While at the time there seemed to be little of an unusual nature, I have come to realize my first memories were of a very crucial time in the history of our world.

Though he was too young to fully understand the events transpiring all around him, Wimbrow had two brothers who were old enough to have their own experiences with POWs before enlisting themselves for duty. Of particular interest is a story Wimbrow shares involving his brother and a group of

German POWs.

> In September [1944] the East Coast experienced a severe hurricane … on the date in question the factory was in full operation but as the day progressed the weather rapidly deteriorated with the approach of the hurricane. By early afternoon my father made the decision to cease production in order that the workers could return to their homes before the weather worsened. He also gave Bill the assignment of returning the POWs to Westover in the old truck. There was no American guard with him since the prisoners were considered low risk. By the time he reached Parsonsburg the rain and wind were so fierce the truck stalled and refused to run. Since he was adjacent to a farmhouse Bill left the prisoners in the truck and walked to the farmhouse in hopes of using the phone to alert Dad. However, he discovered the farmer did not have a phone but in a spirit of cooperation allowed him to house the prisoners in his barn. Once the prisoners were secure in the barn he was directed by the farmer to a house further down the road where a phone was available … Bill then headed back to the farm … as he approached the farm he was horrified to notice that the wind had destroyed the barn housing the prisoners. With visions of being held responsible for the death of a number of POWs he ran to the farm only to discover to his great relief that the farmer had realized the barn was about to go and had moved the prisoners to another building … Bill always said it was quite an experience for an eighteen year old.

Aside from descriptions of life during World War II, Wimbrow discusses life as a schoolboy in a quiet town on the Eastern Shore. Lunch in particular had some peculiarities that simply would not be allowed to take place in this day and age.

> The Blessing always preceded lunch. Most pupils brought their lunch in what was known as a 'dinner pail' in Whaleyville, being kept on a shelf in the cloakroom until needed. However, sandwiches and milk could be purchased through Miss Gilliss if desired … each morning Miss Gilliss took orders and money for sandwiches and milk from those who desired this service. Cheese or spiced ham sandwiches on white bread, with or without mustard, were available for ten cents while a glass of milk could be purchased for five cents … The storekeeper made the sandwiches and wrapped them in the paper used to weigh out items on the meat scale. Miss Gilliss had several glass tumblers into which the milk was poured from the jar. Since the school had no hot water, each day after use, she washed the glasses in cold water, dried them with a cloth towel, and returned them to the shelf. I have often wondered what today's Health Department reaction would be to this "School Food Service Plan" just as I have often speculated as to whether Mr. Ford's cows had ever seen a tuberculin test. Nevertheless, I can report with assurance that I never heard of anyone that was made ill by Miss Gilliss' lunch program.

Harry Lee Palmer

During these times, the world was a simpler place with fewer worries and health codes.

A perfect example of simple life on the Eastern Shore can be found when Wimbrow details a father-son bonding experience. During Christmas break one year, Wimbrow and his father went duck hunting.

> The appointed day arrived and we set off early in the morning with a large thermos of coffee and an equally large bag of lunch prepared by my mother. My father and older brothers maintained a duck blind on the Sinepuxent Bay on the marsh of a farm owned by Ethan Allen Carey, known to all as "Cap'n Neath." This farm is now where "Frontier Town" is located south of Ocean City on Route 611. Cap'n Neath was an Eastern Shore character in every sense of the word … He had an endearing habit of calling everybody, regardless of age, 'Little Boy.' I never heard him call my father by any other name, which I always found amusing … We could not have picked a worse day for duck hunting because it turned out to be an absolutely beautiful late December day. No wind was blowing, the bay was calm, it was bright and sunny with temperatures in the upper 40s and no sign that any wildfowl felt the need to move about. We sat and talked, we reviewed how to shoot from a blind without endangering your partner, we discussed shooting etiquette, we drank coffee and we finally shared lunch. I suppose in today's jargon it was a wonderful opportunity for male bonding.

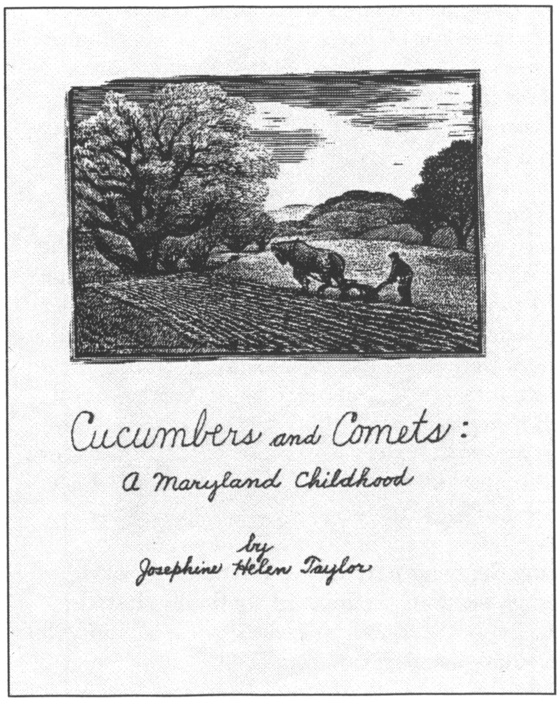
As the story continues, Wimbrow details the eventual appearance of a "Waterwitch," which, "is a local term for a Grebe, a diving duck that rarely leaves the water except for breeding … its diet consists of small fish making its flesh so strong in taste that it is considered a 'trash duck' by hunters."

Upon convincing his father to allow him to shoot the bird, Wimbrow proudly displays his duck to Cap'n Neath who, in turn, congratulates Wimbrow and tells him to be proud of his duck. Later, after taking it home, Wimbrow convinces his mother to pluck and cook the duck.

> No one else would touch it during supper. I was forced to eat it by myself, which I did. It was awful! I managed to force down enough to save face and was secretly glad when my mother removed it from the table … to this day I have no desire to partake of wild duck.

Wimbrow includes many interesting anecdotes such as his story of duck hunting on the Sinepuxent Bay and he even reveals stories of embarrassment that may be humorous to the reader such as this story from elementary school.

> Never very athletic, I did have one moment of athletic glory while at Whaleyville School. When I was in the first grade we ended the year with an old fashioned Field Day complete with an outdoor lunch and all kinds of games and events. One such event was the Potato Race. For the Potato Race a series of parallel holes were dug in the earth, separated from a similar series of holes by a distance of 25 feet. A small potato was placed in each of the holes and a number of competing students were each given a wooden spoon. The object of the game was to move the potatoes from one hole to the other using only the wooden spoon. The person who first accomplished this feat without otherwise touching the potato was declared the winner. I'm not sure why but I was untouchable in the potato race … My sister-in-law, Joanne Whaley Wimbrow, enjoyed teasing me about my potato racing career for many years afterward. It seems she came to the school grounds that day to observe the Field Day but arrived late. In the confusion of the events she could not locate me and asked a classmate by the name of Edward Dover of my whereabouts. Edward lived north of Whaleyville and was "pure swamp" in every respect. Evidently, Edward was not completely sure who Tommy Wimbrow was but in an effort to be helpful asked, "Do you mean that 'ere raid-headed fat boy what won the tater race?" Edward's harsh but truthful notation of my physical nature was another Whaleyville School lesson that has served to keep me humble.



Though the stories mentioned heretofore have done a great job of painting a picture of the Eastern Shore while including amusing anecdotes, they contain a decidedly male perspective. *Cucumbers and Comets: A Maryland Childhood* offers another fascinating glance into the past but it gives the reader a more feminine perspective as it was written by Josephine H. Taylor.

In her book, Taylor describes life with wild animals, excitement at the carnival and detailed information on the town of Salisbury, among many other topics.

> The town of Salisbury where we lived in those early days of my childhood had a population of about 10,000 … At the crossroads of Main Street, running east and west, multiple businesses flourished. There were banks, department stores, drug stores, restaurants, a hotel, and a hospital serving three lower shore counties—Wicomico, Somerset, and Worcester. There were also a library, two movie theatres, a firehouse, furniture stores, grocery stores, three five and dime stores, a utility company, two newspaper offices, waterworks and a few other businesses. Along the banks of the river were the Atlantic Oil Company, Cato Oil Company, Taylor Oil Company, the farmers' and planters' docks, a lumberyard, fertilizer plant, and a brickyard.

In addition to giving a detailed account of the Eastern Shore of her time, Taylor also includes stories from her childhood as well as growing up near animals.

> They had several Jersey cows, so there was always a great quantity of milk … Milk so skimmed was often allowed to sour and coagulate into clabber, which was mixed with crumbled hard-boiled eggs, shells and all, and fed to their young turkey chicks. Mrs. Bounds told us how turkeys are so dumb that, if they stay out in the rain, they will hold their heads up, open their mouths, and drown from the rain; or if an empty barrel is in a field where they are, they will jump in the barrel one after another and suffocate.

Of particular interest in *Cucumbers and Comets* is Taylor's description of the town carnival every summer.

> I also have vivid memories of the yearly County Fair, always held on the fairgrounds on Pemberton Road within a short walking distance from our home. The acreage is now a residential community of federally subsidized homes for families of low income, mostly senior citizens … The highlight of each day's events took place at eight o'clock in the evening. That

> was the death-defying high-jump act, and neither blue ribbons, nor champion animals, nor games of chance which were held in the sweep booths around the perimeter of the fairgrounds, nor anything else could keep me from the grandstand to watch the star of the show mount his horse in preparation of his act. Then he coaxed and urged his horse to climb to the top of a very tall step ladder, poised him on the platform at the tip top, and then plunged what seemed like a hundred feet down into a blazing tank of water—blazing from a film of oil which was floated on top and set on fire. I held my breath and peeped through slits between my fingers which were pressed tight against my eyes. I fully expected to see horse and rider split open on the edge of that tank or be consumed by fire before my very eyes.

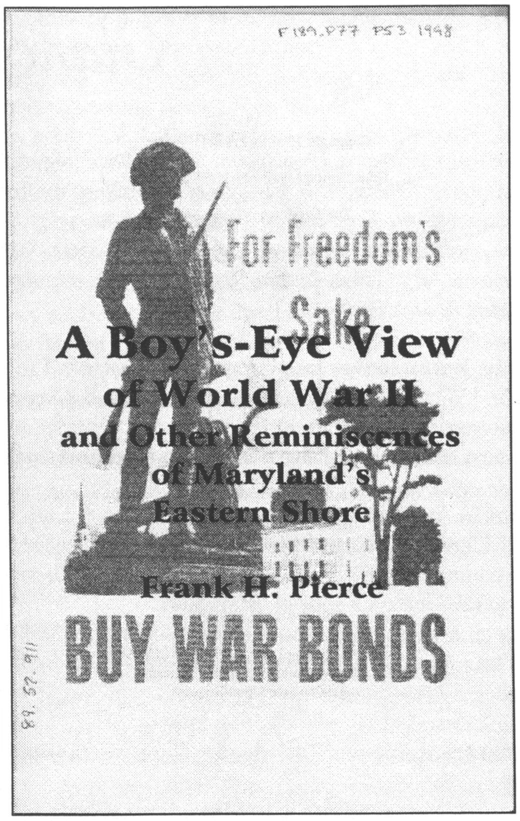
Taylor details many other stories in *Cucumbers and Comets* that truly convey a sense of life in this long gone time.

Another interesting read found at the Nabb Research Center is *A Boy's Eye View of World War II* by Frank H. Pierce. After reading the title, it is obvious that the book features a more war-centric theme, but it still conveys to the reader a clear understanding of life on the Eastern Shore. Though the focus of the book may be about a child's perspective of World War II on the Eastern Shore, Pierce manages to include some pieces that relate solely to the area as it once was.

> A good county map will mark the Manokin River as something of consequence … It was not always so. Not when I was a boy back in the 1940s. Those straight banks and angular bends have come about as a consequence of many attempts at flood control which consumed considerable State and Federal engineering time over the past few decades. The river is now reasonably well behaved and properly mannered, scarcely ever flooding its banks. As a river, it is also considerably more boring. But in the 1940s everything was comparatively natural … I knew that river as well as anybody … I spent a good portion of my youngest days living in the big green house which borders it just north of the bridge and I grew up rowing a flat-bottomed skiff a mile or so up from the bridge down to Red Bridge over the Deal Island Road and a little beyond … It was a snaking, meandering tidal river then, existing in its natural state, forever changing and modifying its banks as it wound its way down from up-county.

Much like the times, not even a river was free of the changes that time and progress would bring. A once magical, wild and uncontrollable river became a tame river, repressed through engineering.

It may be fitting to end with the story about the event that put an end to the "splendid isolation." The Chesapeake Bay Bridge opened on July 30, 1952, finally connecting the Eastern Shore with the rest of Maryland.


F189.P77 P53 1998
For Freedom's Sake
A Boy's-Eye View of World War II and Other Reminiscences of Maryland's Eastern Shore
Frank H. Pierce
BUY WAR BONDS
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> The building of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge was, at one and the same time, both a great joiner and a great divider. Most people who lived on the Eastern Shore of Maryland as I did in July of 1952 saw it as a joiner. Geographically, we had now, for very practical reasons, bridged ourselves over to the rest of the State of Maryland. But future generations of sociologists and people who study such things may view the building of this bridge not so much as a joiner but as a divider. If there was ever a defining watershed, a point in time where the new could be divided from the old, it was, so far as the Eastern Shoreman went, July of 1952. From that time onward, the insignificant little things which defined the Eastern Shore as a unique and rather curious entity gave way … Before the bridge, the defining cultural hallmark of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and its little towns like Princess Anne and Salisbury and Cambridge was its isolation from the rest of Maryland and the rest of the world, for that matter.

The opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge was a sign of the changing times. Technology was becoming much more competent, engineering feats were abounding and the world around the simple, quiet Eastern Shore towns was maturing, much like the authors of these books. Unfortunately for the youth of today, the magic that could once be found in the natural surroundings, the small, friendly towns, and the greater sense of safety has largely disappeared. Though it is not entirely gone, it is hard for the youth of today to understand the simple, yet rewarding day found sitting waiting for no ducks to come about or the comfort in finding a ride in any strangers automobile. At least, at the end of it all, there are books to tell these stories of a time that may be soon forgotten, and there is a great collection of these works in the Nabb Research Center.

Glances At Maryland

by Marsha Scott

Marsha Scott was a visiting exchange student from Scotland who studied on the Eastern Shore during the 1950s. In this issue of Shoreline, *we focus upon the history and culture of the Eastern Shore as seen through the eyes of those who lived it. This provides a unique perspective of the Eastern Shore. Scott wrote this piece as a report to her fellow students in Scotland about her adventures as an exchange student in Maryland*

Hello. I'm an exchange student from Scotland. I'm visiting the United States for a while. I have found it very interesting and different from Dundee. Dundee is a seaport on the eastern coast where I live with my parents and three brothers.

My home in America is in the state of Maryland. I am living with a family of Cherries. Mr. and Mrs. Cherry are very nice to me. We live in the country in Somerset County. Mr. & Mrs. Cherry have promised to take me on a tour of Maryland.

I have been asked by our school newspaper staff to write about Maryland and send the accounts back to Scotland. I think this will be fun, because I want to be a writer when I grow up, if I ever do, I am looking forward to my trip of Maryland.

I hope the newspaper staff at school will use my accounts. Well, away we go!

P.S. Through Mrs. Cherry's help I have been able to collect some pictures with information to send back to Scotland.

Somerset County

Dear Friends,
Today we are starting our trip. Mr. & Mrs. Cherry decided we should start with Somerset County. First they told me some history. Mr. Cherry said, "Somerset County was the eighth county of Maryland to be settled. This county of ours started on the 22 ad. of August in 1666."

Then Mrs. Cherry remarked, "Don't forget, Cecil Calvert issued a proclamation and announced the erection of Somerset County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland."

"May I please continue," snapped Mr. Cherry.

"Of course," replied his wife.

"Thank you," said Mr. Cherry. "The county was named in honor of Lady Mary Somersett. His Lordship named "sponsors" for the new colony."

Mrs. Cherry, "They were, Stephen Horsey, William Stevens, William Thorne, James Jones, John Winder, Henry Boston, George Johnson, and John White."

"Were there Indians in Somerset County?"

Mrs. Cherry "Oh, yes. There were the Pocomokes, Annemessixs, Manoakins, Nassawattoxs and Aquinticos. Today towns and rivers have names like those."

Mr. Cherry "Why in 1620 the white men started coming up the Manokin River to trade with the Indians."

Mrs. Cherry, "Because the Cheaspeake Bay almost divides Maryland in two the colonists east of the Bay lived on the Eastern Shore and west of the Bay on the Western Shore."

The Chauffeur said, "This is still true today."

Mrs. Cherry, "Many of the early settlers came from Virginia, among them were many Quakers who were driven out in 1662."

"As you can see," continued Mr Cherry, "about 1/3 of Somerset's land area is marsh. This land is used for trapping of muskrats and for hunting. Also the marsh grass can be dried and used for packing."

Mr. Cherry said, "The land is level and sandy too. As you know we grow tomatoes, potatoes, and corn. These vegetables are shipped to market. The string beans are harvested by hand."

"I believe you." remarked the Chauffeur, "Why only last year I came here with many hundreds of migrant workers to pick them, until I began to work for you."

We are now coming to Princess Anne. This is the County Seat of Somerset County. It appears to be old. Lets find out. My guess was right. We visited the courthouse and found it was settled in 1732.

The Guide said, "The founders got together and passed a law saying that every home must be at least a certain size and it must have two chimmeys."

"This wise planning still shows today." The Guide continued, "In 1728 the people of Somerset County made a law. The bears bothered the people and other animals besides. The law said that for every bear killed the person would be given a hundred pounds of tobacco. So that no one would get a double allowance the head of the bear had to be shown. The tongue was cut out and the ears chopped off."

Mrs. Cherry, "I would love that job."

Mr. Cherry, "I'm sure you would dear."

The Chauffeur asked, "Shall I drive you to the old High School now?"

Mr. Cherry replied, "Please Charles."

Mrs. Cherry said, "This is Washington High School. The present site of the school was the location of the 'Page House.' This was the birthplace of Phillips Lee Goldsborough, a governor of Maryland."

Mr. Cherry said, "On our way to Crisfield you will see the Briddell Plant. Cutlery and trucks for the post office are made there."

Mrs. Cherry remarked, "We are very proud of this plant."

As I could well see, Crisfield is truly the "Seafood Capital" of the world. For the first time I ate crabs and clams.

Mr. Cherry said, "Almost all of the soft-shell crabs sold in Maryland came from Somerset County."

Mr. Cherry remarked, "Here is a Guide that will tell us all about it."

The Guide said, "The crabs are packed in shallow boxes between layers of seaweed and ice is added. Some are frozen in cold storage plants. Fish of many kinds and oysters are taken from the Chesapeake Bay."

Mrs. Cherry said, "This provides employment for many people."

The Guide said, "The oyster fleets are small sailboats which drag a large dredge over the floor of the water. The dredge scoops up the oysters. Ones under 3" long have to be thrown back. The oyster shells are returned to the water."

The Chauffeur said, "Shall we go to Smith Island next?"

Mrs. Cherry said, "Yes, please. We will have to get a boat from Crisfield."

"The trip was a little rough, but we made it."

Mr. Cherry said, "Smith Island was named for Captain John Smith. The island is only a few feet above high tide.

Mrs. Cherry interrupted, "There are only about 800 people living here. There are three towns, Tylerton, Rhodes Point, and Ewell. All the people are Methodists."

"Gee, the main street looks about 10' wide."

Mr. Cherry said, "You're right. Well, we had better be getting back. We want to visit Deals Island."

Mrs. Cherry said, "On Deals Island is buried Joshua Thomas, he was known as the 'Parson of the Islands.' He would visit the islands in a log canoe and bring Methodism to the people."

The Chauffeur asked, "By the way, have you ever read the book called the Entailed Hat?"

"No, I haven't. I understand it's about Somerset County."

Mrs. Cherry answered, "Yes it is."

Mr. Cherry said, "We will have to be moving on now, if you want to visit other counties.

"Oh yes, I sure do."

Mr. Cherry said, "Good"

I have enjoyed Somerset County. It's unusual islands, landmarks and wonderful hospitality.

I also forgot to tell you about Samuel Chase. His probable birth site is in Somerset County (1741-1811). He was one of Maryland's signers of the Declaration of Independence. The house he was born in is now destroyed. It belonged to his Grandfather. His mother was visiting the home at the time.

Also there is a Chase Home in Annapolis open to the public. Construction was started by Chase.

Worcester County

Dear Friends,

Today we are going to Worcester County. As we ride past we see many forests.

Mr. Cherry remarked, "With all these trees no wonder Worcester County yields that state's largest supply of lumber products. Almost all five hundred sq. miles of land are covered with forests. There are thirty-five miles of Atlantic coastline."

Mrs. Cherry, "We should go fishing in the Pocomoke River sometime."

Mr. Cherry answered, "Yes, my dear, we should. Beside fish there are oysters, clams, and crabs."

Charles said, "The water is very dark. I have heard legendary tales of its' unfathomable depth."

As we drove on you could see more trees and here and there a clearing with a church and graveyard with no habitation.

Mrs. Cherry said, "There is St. Martin's. It has been preserved as originally constructed in 1759. There is an old Meeting House over there."

Charles remarked, "We are coming to Snow Hill."

Mrs. Cherry answered, "Oh yes, this is the county Seat of Worcester County. You can see the docks, tree shaded streets, and fine old homes and churches.

Mr. Cherry said, "Yes. All Hallows is one of the oldest churches. It has a Queen Anne Bible, dated London, 1701. This lovely old church is still in use today."

We rode by many little towns such as: Berlin, Pocomoke, Stockton, Girdletree, Klej Grange, Public Landing, Basket Switch, Whaleysville, Bishopville, Ironshire, and Newark.

Charles said, "Here we are at Ocean City.

Mrs. Cherry said, "It looks like a ghost town now because it's winter, but in the summer thousands of people came here.

On our way back I asked:

"What are those long buildings?"

Mr. Cherry answered, "Why those are chicken houses. Thousands of chickens are raised in Worcester County."

Mrs. Cherry said, "Also vegetables and fruit are grown. There are twenty-six food processing plants here."

Mr. Cherry said, "Oh look, we're comming to Milburn's Landing. This is one of the most beautiful state parks in Maryland."

"Charles, drive us down to the Old Iron Furnace please," said Mrs. Cherry. "The Old Iron Furnace represents an early effort of people to gain independence. They were unsuccessful."

"Please tell me more history about this county."

Mrs. Cherry replied, "All right dear. Late in the seventeenth century it was part of Somerset County. In 1697 a road from here extended as far north as Indian River (now in Delaware). Worcester County was cut out of Somerset in 1742."

"My, how interesting."

Mrs. Cherry said, "Yes it is."

Mr. Cherry said, "Don't talk too long my dear, we want to visit other counties too."

Oh yes, indeed we do. Gee, this is fun. Worcester County is really a nice place.

Wicomico County

Dear Friends -

Today we are visiting Wicomico County. The Cherries told me it was named after the river of that name. Wicomico came from two Indian words for house and building. This referred to an Indian town on the banks of the river. The county was started in 1867.

Mr. Cherry said, "We're coming to Salisbury. It is the largest town on the Eastern Shore. Over there is the State Teachers College. It is the one out of two in the state that has all white students. It was established in 1925."

Mrs. Cherry said, "Speaking of history, the first settlement in Wicomico County was by the Wicomico Indians. They loved their land and water and were proud people."

"Isn't the water used for fishing or anything like that?" said I.

Mr. Cherry answered, "No. The water around Salisbury is used for transportation. Many boats, from many places, came here. It is the second largest port in Maryland."

Mrs. Cherry said, "Salisbury has a lot of industry. In the country near Salisbury, truck farming is done. The food is brought in town and processed in one of the many plants."

Mr. Cherry continued, "Also there are clothes factories."

As we rode through town, you could tell there were a lot of stores and houses.

Mrs. Cherry said, "Over here is Poplar Hill Mansion. It was erected in 1795 by Major Levin Handy."

The interior is of lovely pine. The hallway is 12 feet wide. It is a very beautiful and old home.

"Please tell me more about Salisbury."

"Alright," said Mr. Cherry, "In 1732 William Winder made a purchase of 15 acres at Pemberton's Good Will at Handy's Landing. The town became Salisbury Town."

Mrs. Cherry said, "The railrode came through in 1860. Farmers could send crops farther away now."

Mr. Cherry continued, "Yes. Also route 13 has helped Salisbury by having the highway go through the town."

"There sure is a lot of traffic on it today," said Charles.

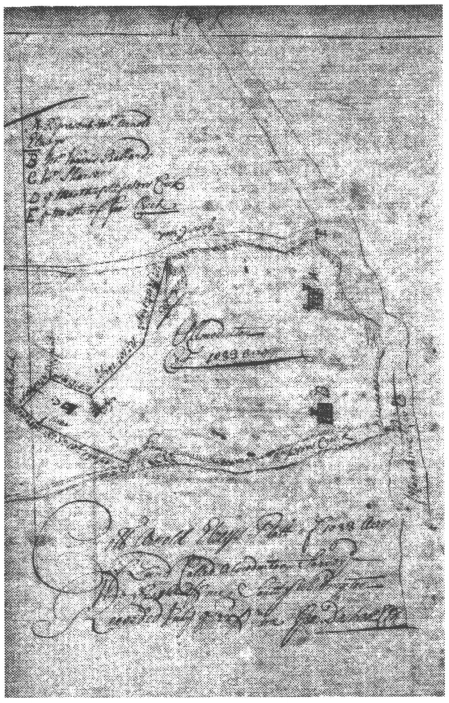
"Yes," said Mrs. Cherry.

I have enjoyed Wicomico County.

The Laws of Direct Descent

by T. Aaron Horner

There are two methods in which a person can acquire title to land. One way is to purchase the title, such as by patent or deed. The other way is by descent, through some operation of law, such as testate (will) or intestate (without a will). Over the years, England established a number of principles governing how an estate passed from the ancestor to the heir. As Englishmen settled the New World, these customs carried over to the colonies. Prior to the American Revolution, the colonies practiced a system of land inheritance called "primogeniture" whereby land passed to the first-born son, usually the eldest, after an individual had died intestate. The Founding Fathers saw the need to break from a number of English common laws, including primogeniture. They felt that all heirs should have some entitlement to property when an individual died intestate. This article addresses the origins of primogeniture in England and its basic principles as it was practiced in the American colonies. Over time, each state abolished both entail and primogeniture. However, each state created laws of descent that differ from other sister states. We will examine the law of descent for Maryland and compare it with that of Virginia. As a case study, we will examine the title search for the tract of land called "Almodington" by following each transaction from one owner to the next.



Origins of Primogeniture

The origins of modern primogeniture date back to the Middle Ages. Prior to the Norman invasion, England practiced a land custom whereby land was divided equally among all surviving sons. In the sixth century, France practiced a similar custom known as Salic Law. One of the principles behind this law was "agnatic succession," the inheritance of land passing through males only, excluding any descendants through the female lines. Throughout its early history, France remained divided into smaller kingdoms under the heirs of King Clovis I. This division often led to rivalries within the family with deadly consequences in a number of circumstances. As monarchs awarded those individuals with "honorary feuds" (or titles of nobility) for their military services to the kingdom, a change in the law of succession seemed necessary. The fear was that division within the fiefs (estates) would weaken the power of the kingdom. Concentration of power in one individual from one generation to the next, with succession by the eldest son, would limit the number of heirs to the title. The exclusion of younger sons to title would require them to perform other services for the kingdom; these duties included service in mercantile, military, civic or ecclesiastical professions. William the Conqueror introduced primogeniture to England when he invaded in 1066. By the reign of King Henry III (1216-1272), almost all of England had adopted primogeniture. Under primogeniture, inheritance typically passed "downward" to the children and their heirs rather than "lineally" to a sibling. The sons of the decedent are higher in the line of succession than the daughters. Birth order determined the order of succession when the decedent had several sons. If the decedent left only daughters as heirs at law, the estate would be divided equally between them. If the eldest son predeceases the testator, and the said son having left issue, his children are representatives.

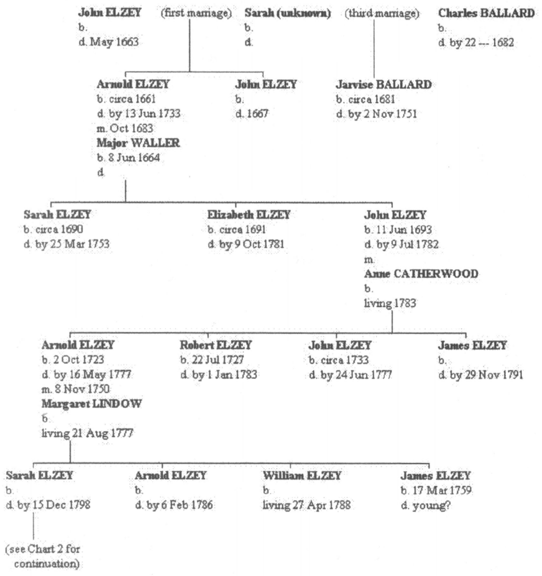
Abolition of Primogeniture

When the Virginia House of Delegates convened for its first session since the proclamation of independence, Thomas Jefferson proposed a bill to abolish entail. The delegates feared the rise of a "landed" aristocracy in America. The following year, Georgia became the first state to abolish both entail and primogeniture. On January 20, 1786, the Maryland General Assembly passed a bill titled "An Act to Direct Descents" (Archives of Maryland Online: Volume 204, *Laws of Maryland 1785-1791*, page 184). All children, male and female, of the decedent now had an equal share in any lands, tenements or hereditaments. In Maryland, how an estate descended to heirs, when an individual left no lawful issue, was based on the way it came into possession of the decedent. If property passed through the father, then the descent passed back through the father's lineage. For example, the property would pass back to the father, then to the brothers and sisters of the blood of the father and their heirs. If there were no heirs of the father and full siblings, then the estate would pass back to the paternal grandfather, then to the heirs of the said grandfather and so forth. Similarly, if property passed through the mother, then the descent passed back through the mother, in like manner, as it did with the father's lineage. In Maryland, if heirs could not agree to a division of the estate, the court would appoint five "discreet sensible" men to view the estate and report back to the court if the estate could be divided without injury or loss. On January 1, 1788, the new law of direct descent went into effect. In October 1785, Virginia passed a bill titled "An Act Directing the Course of Descents" (Hening's Statutes At Large, Volume 12, 1785-1788, p. 138). When an individual died without lawful issue, the property passed back to the father. If the father was deceased, then the property fell to the mother, brothers and sisters and their descendants. If there were no heirs amongst those individuals, then the property is divided into two moieties, one for the paternal line and the other for the maternal. On the issue of illegitimacy, Maryland did not recognize the rights of bastard children, whereas in Virginia, bastard children were entitled to the estate if it passed through the mother. Both states agreed that children born prior to a marriage would be legitimate.

Title Search to Almodington

In 1663, John Elzey received a certificate of survey for 1,000 acres called "Almodington" (Maryland Land Office, Patent Record, Liber 7, folio 605). Located in Somerset County on the north side of

CHART 1


John ELZEY
b.
d. May 1663
(first marriage)
Sarah (unknown)
b.
d.
(third marriage)
Charles BALLARD
b.
d. by 22 --- 1682
Arnold ELZEY
b. circa 1661
d. by 13 Jun 1733
m. Oct 1683
Major WALLER
b. 8 Jun 1664
d.
John ELZEY
b.
d. 1667
Jarvise BALLARD
b. circa 1681
d. by 2 Nov 1751
Sarah ELZEY
b. circa 1690
d. by 25 Mar 1753
Elizabeth ELZEY
b. circa 1691
d. by 9 Oct 1781
John ELZEY
b. 11 Jun 1693
d. by 9 Jul 1782
m.
Anne CATHERWOOD
b.
living 1783
Arnold ELZEY
b. 2 Oct 1723
d. by 16 May 1777
m. 8 Nov 1750
Margaret LINDOW
b.
living 21 Aug 1777
Robert ELZEY
b. 22 Jul 1727
d. by 1 Jan 1783
John ELZEY
b. circa 1733
d. by 24 Jun 1777
James ELZEY
b.
d. by 29 Nov 1791
Sarah ELZEY
b.
d. by 15 Dec 1798
Arnold ELZEY
b.
d. by 6 Feb 1786
William ELZEY
b.
living 27 Apr 1788
James ELZEY
b. 17 Mar 1759
d. young?
(see Chart 2 for continuation)

the Manokin River and on east side of St. Peter's Creek, Almodington became the home plantation for the heirs of John Elzey for several generations. With John's untimely death that year, his widow Sarah secured the patent in the right of their two sons, Arnold and John. In 1667, Arnold became the sole possessor upon the death of his brother (see Chart 1). In his will dated February 16, 1729, Arnold left Almodington to his three children John, Sarah and Elizabeth. According to the stipulation laid out in his will, both Sarah and Elizabeth were to share a part in the estate so long as they remained single (Maryland Prerogative Court, Wills, Liber 20, folio 684). Neither daughter ever married, thus, upon their deaths, their portion of the estate fell to their brother John. On October 3, 1734, John Elzey deeded 300 acres of Almodington to his uncle Jarvise Ballard (Somerset County Deeds, Liber AZ, folio 181). The construction of the present-day manor home was built by John Elzey in proximity to his father's home (see Map 1).

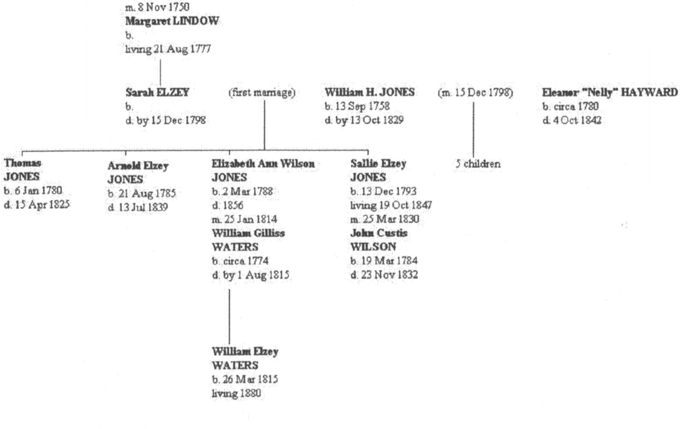
During the 1780s, the title to Almodington passed in rapid successions from one generation of Elzeys to the next. By July 9, 1782, John Elzey died intestate. By law, Almodington descended to his eldest son Arnold. However, Arnold had died sometime prior to May 16, 1777, leaving three children, Arnold, William and Sarah. Although John had two other sons living at the time of his death, his grandson Arnold, in right of his father Arnold, inherited Almodington. Although Arnold inherited Almodington by birthright over his brother William, Sarah was more than likely the elder sibling. When her mother Margaret Elzey refused to administer the estate of her father, the court appointed Sarah in her stead. (Somerset County Administration Bonds, Liber EB 1, folio 3). On September 2, 1778, both Arnold and William Elzey chose Sarah as their guardian until they reached the age of majority (Somerset County Orphans Record, 1777-1792, folio 5). Whereas Sarah fulfilled a major responsibility of overseeing the probate of her father's estate, as well as the legal guardianship to her two brothers, she had no right to the title to Almodington. Arnold Elzey died intestate and without issue between the years 1783 to 1786, leaving his brother William as heir to Almodington. On February 6, 1786, William Elzey filed a petition with the Chancellor of the State of Maryland to resurvey the bounds of Almodington to include an additional 200 acres. The petition describes in detail how Almodington descended to the said William (Maryland State Archives, Plats.net, Patented Certificate 199). William Elzey died intestate and without issue between the years 1788 to 1793. With both brothers now deceased and without issue, Sarah Elzey inherited Almodington.

During the administration of her father's estate, Sarah Elzey married William H. Jones. Together, they had four surviving children: Thomas Jones, Arnold Elzey Jones, Elizabeth Ann Wilson Jones and Sallie Elzey Jones (see Chart 2). Sarah died sometime prior to December 15, 1798, when a marriage license for William H. Jones and Eleanor "Nelly" Hayward was recorded. William will have five more children from this union. Although William H. Jones inherited Almodington by his marriage to Sarah Elzey, their four children were the only lawful heirs to the estate. On September 23, 1807, Thomas Jones sold his interest in Almodington to his brother Arnold E. (Somerset Co. Deeds, Liber S, folio 46). On September 7, 1825, the three surviving siblings agreed upon the partition of the Almodington estate (Somerset County Deeds, Liber GH 3, folio 17). According to the division, Sallie E. received the home plantation, Arnold E. received the portions to the south and west of the home plantation, now known as "Elmwood," and Elizabeth A. W. received the portions to the north and west of the home plantation, now known as "Homewood" (see Map 2).

Summary

The preamble to Maryland's act of descent properly sums up primogeniture this way: "whereas the law of descents, which originated with the feudal system and military tenure, is contrary to justice, . . . [it] ought to be abolished." In 18th century America, economics (ownership of land and/or slaves) replaced military service as the power behind primogeniture. When researchers are performing any title search, they must be aware of primogeniture. Public records such as wills and deeds are important tools for any title search. However, the lack of records can be challenging as well. Both Arnold and his brother William did not leave any probate record, thus other sources had to be used to estimate their times of death. With primogeniture, the law does not require a record of land transfer. No record exists indicating the relationship between William Elzey and Sarah (Elzey) Jones. However, research indicates that they must have been siblings.

CHART 2


Arnold ELZEY
b. 2 Oct 1723
d. by 16 May 1777
m. 8 Nov 1750
Margaret LINDOW
b.
living 21 Aug 1777
Sarah ELZEY
b.
d. by 15 Dec 1798
(first marriage)
William H. JONES
b. 13 Sep 1758
d. by 13 Oct 1829
(m. 15 Dec 1798)
Eleanor "Nelly" HAYWARD
b. circa 1780
d. 4 Oct 1842
Thomas JONES
b. 6 Jan 1780
d. 15 Apr 1825
Arnold Elzey JONES
b. 21 Aug 1785
d. 13 Jul 1839
Elizabeth Ann Wilson JONES
b. 2 Mar 1788
d. 1856
m. 25 Jan 1814
William Gilliss WATERS
b. circa 1774
d. by 1 Aug 1815
Sallie Elzey JONES
b. 13 Dec 1793
living 19 Oct 1847
m. 25 Mar 1830
John Custis WILSON
b. 19 Mar 1784
d. 23 Nov 1832
5 children
William Elzey WATERS
b. 26 Mar 1815
living 1880

Archivist's Corner

By David Ranzan

What Would An Archivist Say?: Tintypes

Popular during the Civil War, tintypes were made through a process in which the photographic emulsion is contained in liquid collodion. A precursor to Polaroid, this was called a wet-plate process and was patented by Hamilton Smith, a Kenyon College professor, in 1885 in the United States. An improvement to the earlier glass-plated ambrotype, the image appeared as a positive print due to the black background but in fact is technically developed as a reversed negative. Due to the fragile state of the original process, Smith replaced the glass plate with a less-costly thin piece of black-enameled, or japanned, iron providing a very fast-producing, durable and cost-effective photographic medium. Because of the use of iron, the tintype is also known as ferrotype.

Tintypes have many enemies. Due to the varnish used to protect the surface from abrasions and atmospheric conditions, the tintype will experience cracking in the coating. Also the varnish darkens through time causing the image to "fade." The metal sheet can become pitted and rust, and the handling of the tintypes will make the image appear flatter and duller. To preserve them, tintypes should be stored in a cool, dark place with a constant climate environment. They should also be stored in acid- and lignin-free sleeves. For display purposes, the tintype should be scanned using a blue-lens photocopier. With a digital scan, the image can be manipulated to lighten the image and enhance the contrast.

Report from the Archivist's Office

Starting in the month of July, the staff at the Nabb Research Center has been focusing on three key concerns pertaining to the archival collections: remedying space issues, promoting Web presence and revamping processing procedures. In preparation for incoming materials, it was decided that the artifacts and framed pictures would be housed in the basement of Blackwell Library. The space became available at the recent departure of the Teaching Learning Resource Center to the newly-constructed Teacher Education and Technology Center and Library Dean Alice Bahr's gracious offer of the other space to the Nabb Center. Another decision was made to consolidate all the bound newspapers into one room (EC101). This allowed for additional shelving units to be constructed, which will accommodate the growth of the collections in the Archives and Accession Rooms. The archival assistant workroom has been converted to house additional shelving units and was renamed the Acquisitions Room. The staff also has reviewed and implemented changes regarding the handling of new donations that will allow for greater efficiency throughout the processing procedure.

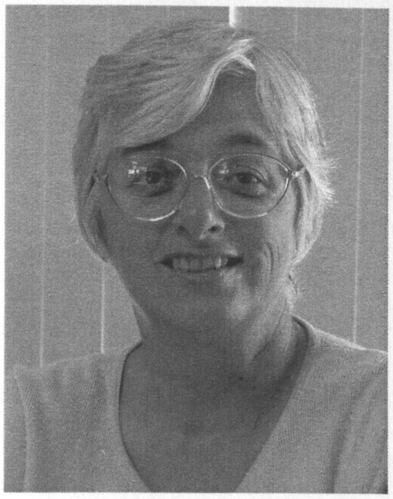
Due to all the wonderful material that exists at the Nabb, there is a conscious effort to enhance the accessibility of the collections to the patrons. We are accomplishing this with the development of topical finding aids and creations of online digital exhibits and publications. Student assistant Matt Griffin is currently working on a digital exhibit pertaining to the postcards of Somerset County. Also, the data migration from a MS Access database to the Past Perfect database continues with the help of Griffin and receptionist Corinne Les Callette. In the near future, the Nabb Research Center will begin to investigate the possibility of an online version of its Past Perfect database. This will also provide better accessibility to all the archival collections at the Nabb Research Center.

We acknowledge the following materials donated to the Nabb Research Center since July 2008:

- Additions to Mary Nock Collection (France Smith)
- Monograph relating to All Saints' Church of Rehoboth Beach, DE (Bonnie Barnidge)
- 1877 Atlas of Wicomico, Somerset & Worcester Co.s, MD (Richard Catlin)
- Assorted clippings and magazines of various topics, including Ocean City, MD, hurricanes (James Hiteshew)
- Records of Town & Country Garden Club of Maryland (Rosemary Slacum)
- Newspaper Clippings (Emilyne Couch)
- Monograph relating to the wetlands of Maryland (Carter Library Department of Natural Resources)
- Pictures of 19th century African-Americans, Dorchester County (Keiford Jackson)
- Assorted Eastern Shore, MD, postcards (Della Andrew)
- Plats and pictures pertaining to Shoreland Freezers, Inc. of Salisbury, MD (Arthur Cooley)
- World War II memorabilia (George & Barbara Whitehead)
- Addition to the Old School Baptist Church Collection (Elbert Robbins)
- Calendar pertaining to the Small family (Clara Small)
- DVDs of assorted episodes of Digitizing Delmarva Heritage & Traditions (PAC14)
- Addition to the Wicomico Garden Club of Maryland
- Assorted material relating to the Dickey Family (Janet Parker Taylor)
- Civil War monograph (Corinne Les Callette)
- Additions to the Wicomico Woman's Club (Rosemary Slacum)
- Assorted maps (SU History Department)
- A large framed map of Virginia and Maryland and a pair of antique wool carders (Andrea Ullrich)
- Assorted material belonging to Ruth Kennerly Harcum (Anne Clay)
- Assorted material of the Worcester Environmental Trust (Joseph Fehrer Jr.)
- World War II photograph (Gailyn Bower)
- DVD of Robert Lee Burton's "Dorchester Canneries" presentation to the South Dorchester Folk Museum (George Chevallier)
- Assorted material of the Sudler Family & a Good Old Eastern Shore LP (Mary Troy)
- Assorted bound periodicals (Wave, Boiler Journal, Maryland Beacon, Longneck News, Delmarva News) from 1944 to 1990 (Delmarva Media Group)
- Desk owned by the Nock family (Richard W. Culver)
- Assorted pictures from the Preservation Trust of Wicomico
- New York Times microfilm from January 1863 to April 1864 (David Ranzan)
- Booklet regarding the Richard Henson Reservation (Sean Wenstrup)
- 49th Annual Skipjack program (Aaron Horner)
- Assorted world and American maps (Ray Thompson)

Volunteer Corner

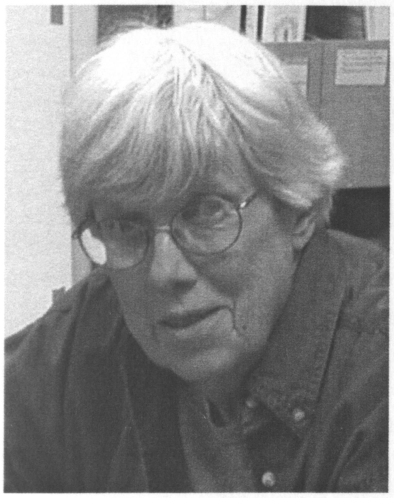
Carolyn Adkins is a board member and is currently researching the Cooper, Bradley, Mills and Wilson families. She also volunteers at the Adkins Historical and Museum Complex in Mardela.



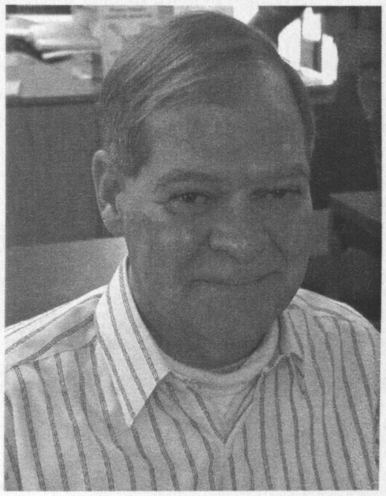
Pat Taylor is a board member, volunteer, research assistant and volunteer coordinator at the Nabb Center, where she can also be found giving help in the Reading Room.

Polly Batchelder volunteers her time organizing the material Matthew M. Wise gathered for his unfinished Long Family book. She recently came across another entire volume of material that had been forgotten!

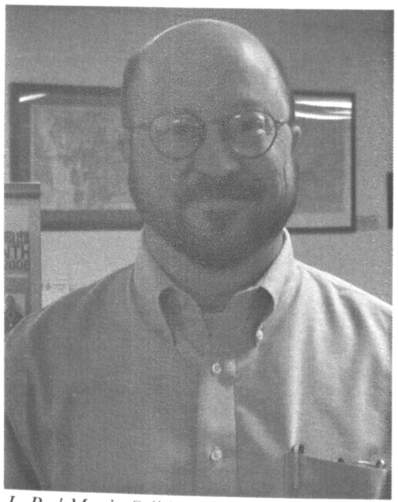
Jane West is a Salisbury alum and retired schoolteacher. She resides in La Plata, Maryland, while creating a database for the Nabb Center.



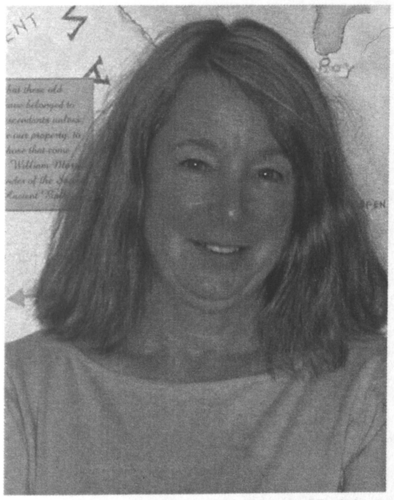
Page Insley Austin recently returned to the Salisbury area. She graduated from Wicomico High School in 1958 before leaving the Eastern Shore for college. She spent a large portion of her professional career teaching philosophy at the University of Houston and practicing law at a large firm.



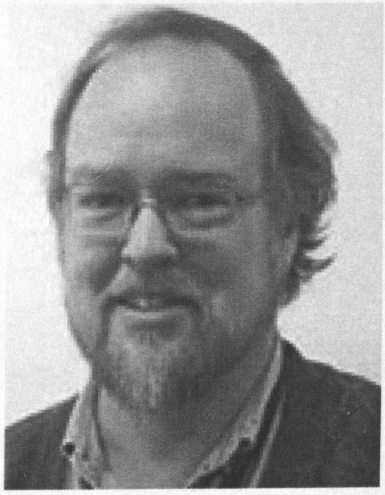
Bill Collison, Delaware resident, Nabb Center member and volunteer, continually researches the history of the Eastern Shore. He also volunteers the second Monday evening of each month.



L. Paul Morris, Salisbury, is a board member and works in the Reading Room every third Monday evening of each month.



Heather Burnham is from Falls Church, Virginia, and graduated from Mary Washington University with a degree in American studies. She has worked as a historical researcher and curatorial assistant and hopes to earn a graduate degree in history from Salisbury University.



Although he has no family ties to the Shore, Jefferson Boyer has lived in Whitehaven for the last 14 years and teaches art history at both Salisbury University and Wor-Wic Community College. He is an active member of the Whitehaven Heritage Association and his interests include researching the history of Whitehaven and the Tyaskin District.

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